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IZVESTIYA NOTES REAGAN COMMENTS ON ARMS CURBS

PM061423 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 May 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "U.S. President's Speech"]

[Text] Washington, 2 May -- President Reagan has addressed Republican Party members at an election fund-raising dinner as part of the 1988 presidential election campaign, which is now being launched in the United States. Touching on questions under discussion at the Soviet-U.S. talks on medium-range missiles in Europe, the head of the White House noted the "indisputable progress" that has been made in "reducing nuclear armaments, which threaten mankind."

At the same time he asserted that "the defense of peace is one of the United States most important goals in international affairs." His speech makes it clear, however, that the Washington administration intends to achieve this goal by using...the "Strategic Defense Initiative," which, as is well known, envisages a new and very dangerous round of the nuclear arms race and its transfer into space.

The U.S. President also touched on the SDI problem in written replies to questions from Japan's ASAHI SHIMBUN newspaper. He confirmed the White House's firm commitment to the "Star Wars" program, which has become the main obstacle to the conclusion of a strategic arms agreement. Reagan asserted that "it makes sense" to continue work on SDI and at the same time to hold talks on strategic arms reduction. The White House is using that stance to conceal the attempts to create a "space shield" for the United States and, at the same time, to weaken the other side's potential for delivering a retaliatory strike.

The President also pointed out that the talks and discussions U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz held in Moscow "strengthened prospects of concluding an interim agreement on medium-range facilities." He noted, however, that "important problems remain to be resolved, particularly on shorter-range INF [RSD menshey dalnosti] and verification measures." The head of the Washington administration announced that the United States is continuing "intensive consultations" on this question with its allies in Western Europe and Asia, including Japan.

COMPARISON OF REACTION TO REAGAN STATEMENT ON TALKS

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 6 May 1987 carries in its Morning Edition on page 4 a TASS report on President Reagan's statement regarding the 8th round of nuclear and space arms talks, which opened in Geneva on 5 May. The IZVESTIYA report, entitled "U.S. President's Statement" has been compared with the Moscow TASS English version published in the 5 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page AA 1 under the subheading "Proposals 'Complicate' Talks", revealing the following variations:

Paragraph five, line one reads in IZVESTIYA: made great progress in reducing strategic arms, the statement said further. (rewording)

Paragraph eleven, line four reads in IZVESTIYA: the Soviet draft treaty "obviously reflects the agreements" made in Reykjavik (rewording)

Paragraph twelve, line one reads in IZVESTIYA: then immediately raised monitoring and verification issues again (adding "monitoring and")

Paragraph fifteen in IZVESTIYA reads: This refers to the amendments put forward by a large number of members of congress which somewhat cut down the administration's defense spending request, particularly on SDI, commit the United States to return to the SALT II Treaty and observe it, and ban appropriations for nuclear testing involving yields of over one kiloton. (rewording)

Paragraph seventeen, line four reads in IZVESTIYA: THE WASHINGTON POST said, "The President's statement had given rise to doubts about the success." (adding quotation marks)

U.S. ADMINISTRATION URGED TO OBSERVE ARMS TREATIES

LD071005 Moscow TASS in English 0930 GMT 7 May 87

[Text] Washington May 7 TASS -- TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin reports:

On Wednesday the U.S. House of Representatives by a majority of votes endorsed a number of Democrats-advanced important amendments to their version of a military spending bill for the 1988 fiscal year.

The documents urge the Reagan administration strictly to observe the provisions of the SALT-2 Treaty and to adhere to the narrow interpretation of the 1972 Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty.

An amendment to the SALT-2 Treaty introduces a ban on the allocation of funds for the administration next fiscal year for the deployment or material and technical support of any weapon systems which would exceed the quantitative limits set by the treaty.

The document specially emphasizes that the ban may be removed only if the U.S. President provides Congress with evidence that the Soviet Union exceeds the limits.

This move by the U.S. House of Representatives is an overt challenge to the Reagan administration and is intended, first of all, to stop the strategic delivery vehicles' build-up being effected by the administration in breach of the SALT-2 Treaty.

Edward Markey, member of the House of Representatives, said that the crocodile tears being shed by representatives of the Republican minority in Congress now served to hide smiles in connection with the SALT process frustrated by them.

He said it was time to drop such hypocrisy and honestly to admit that they had always opposed the SALT process and arms control, and had favoured the arms race.

Congressman Norman Dicks said the point was not simply the SALT-2 Treaty but whether the USA would or would not allow the uncontrolled strategic nuclear arms race to continue.

The U.S. House of Representatives turned down the Republicans' amendment to the bill which would enable the Administration to resort to the so-called "broad interpretation" of the Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty.

Congressman Dave McCurdy said the Administration's new broad interpretation of the accord was an "amateurism, inept and dangerous effort to undermine the bedrock of arms control."

Barney Frank emphasized that the present U.S. Administration had not done anything at all to curb the nuclear arms race.

USSR SUPPORTS UK ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS INSPECTION

LD051347 Moscow TASS in English 1343 GMT 5 May 87

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS -- "A substantial headway at the Geneva negotiations on banning chemical weapons, starting with the last year, has become possible as a result of several new Soviet proposals," said today Yuriy Nazarkin, head of the Soviet delegation at the disarmament conference in Geneva. Speaking at a briefing here, he noted that it was too early as yet to say that all obstacles were removed on the way towards concluding a convention. They exist, regrettably. It is, above all, the so-called challenge inspection. Every state has definite sensitive points and the access of inspectors to them could put its supreme interests into jeopardy. The Soviet Union believes that the solution of the problem can be found on the basis of a proposal put forth by Britain.

It is of a compromise character and provides for using the so-called alternative measures. Regrettably, the USA is against this proposal.

Yuriy Nazarkin pointed out that the disarmament conference in Geneva spends too much effort on procedure issues, and little time left for substantive work. Despite the fact that the conference, according to its status, is an organ of multilateral negotiations on disarmament, the negotiations are conducted, in real fact, only on one issue -- prohibition of chemical weapons. No progress was registered during the winter session on other issues being discussed at the conference, for instance, on the prohibition of nuclear tests and radiological weapons.

USSR DELEGATE SPEAKS AT DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

LD061854 Moscow TASS in English 1800 GMT 6 May 87

[Text] New York May 6 TASS -- The Soviet Union is striving towards mutually acceptable solutions on the entire complex of nuclear disarmament, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh told the annual session of the U.N. Commission on Disarmament today.

This was confirmed by the latest Soviet constructive initiatives, including on the reduction of medium-range missiles in Europe, directed at overcoming stagnation in the process of disarmament and resolving problems that until recently seemed impossible to resolve.

A broad exchange of views at the commission on principal questions of peace and security could be useful for elaborating specific measures in the field of nuclear disarmament and in preventing an arms race in outer space, said the Soviet delegate.

USSR CALLS FOR 'ACTION' NOT WORDS IN DISARMAMENT

LD051132 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 5 May 87

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Konstantin Patsyuk]

[Text] Another round -- the eighth -- in the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space armaments began in Geneva today. At the center of attention is the question of concluding a treaty on eliminating Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe. It must be said that on this question real chances exist for reaching an accord, and for doing so before the end of this year.

In connection with the resumption of the talks the White House has published a statement by U.S. President Reagan saying that the White House chief has instructed the U.S. representatives at the talks to step up efforts aimed at achieving agreement on reducing strategic armaments. The United States is shortly to present a relevant draft treaty proposing a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive armaments over a 7-year period following the documents coming into force. It is also proposed that the Soviet Union and the United States should remain within the framework of the ABM Treaty only until the end of 1994. The document emvisages that work will continue on the development [sozdaniye] and deployment [razvertyvaniye] of systems of the Strategic Defense Initiative; and that after 1994 both sides, as the draft says, will be able to deplay defense systems as they choose if no other reciprocal accord has been achieved.

How is this proposal, envisioned by the draft treaty, to be understood? Well, it means that while holding talks the United States will simultaneously prepare for the deployment of space defense weapons. And finally, one's attention is drawn to the fact that the draft again raises questions concerning inspection and verification [proverka i kontrol] for the achievement of an agreement on eliminating medium-range missiles in Europe. In fact, as is known, our country has already put forward detailed proposals in this field that have, moreover, been left unanswered.

There are more than enough statements being made in the West about the willingness to solve the disarmament problem and to prevent war. President Mitterrand of France has stated, for example, that his country wants to create the conditions for solving disarmament problems and is even taking steps toward this. But the public receives statements of that kind with mistrust. The fact is that words are one thing, but what is needed are concrete actions to back them up, and these actions are lacking. France itself -- judging by its what leaders have said -- has received our proposals on medium range missiles in Europe in a very guarded way and has not taken a precise stance on this question.

PRAVDA REVIEWS MAY DAY, ARMS PROPOSALS, NICARAGUA

PM061415 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 May 87 Second Edition p 4

["International Review" by Vitaliy Korionov]

[Text] The spring of 1987 is an unusual one. This is not because of the freaks in the weather that occur from time to time in various parts of the world. This year's spring inspires alarm and hope at the same time. People are pinning their hopes that peace will be preserved above all on the socialist part of the planet. From the restructuring, democratization, and openness gaining ground in the USSR, millions of people of good will are drawing new energy to step up the struggle against the threat of nuclear war.

More than 70 years ago, in the spring of 1914, V.I. Lenin wrote: "We know that we are on the right path. We know that we are marching in step with the progressive workers of all countries. We know that what were are doing now is only a minute part of the whole, that we are only at the beginning of our great march toward liberation. But we also know that nothing in the world can stop us in our march along this path." What foresight on the part of our leader! And although the situation in the world remains extremely complexe, we can claim with good reason that world history is developing along the lines predicted by the Marxist-Leninists.

Under the Banner of May Day [subhead]

This year's May Day was marked by a great political upsurge. Through the world, the columns of participants in May Day demonstrations demanded peace, disarmament, and the provision of democratic and social rights for the working people. Carrying high the scarlet banners of May Day, the working people demonstrated their understanding of the fact that class solidarity is an irreplaceable means of workers' mutual assistance and a factor for augmenting the forces of peace, progress, and common sense.

Communists have been and remain the bearers of the spirit of internationalism. The congresses of communist and workers parties held recently in a number of countries indicated the communists' determinaton to mobilize the working class and the working masses to active struggle for their vital interests.

Socialism is the most important force countering the growing danger of mankind's annihilation, the political report to the 19th Congress of the Norwegian Communist Party noted. The preservation and consolidation of peace depends on its successes, on the development of its social virtues and material and spiritual strengths.

The imperialist forces are dangerous; the 28th Communist Party of Denmark Congress noted, but they are not the forces that determine the present development of the situation in the world. The antiwar movement is broadening and strengthening everywhere. The Danish Communists have always been aware of their responsibility in the struggle for peace and for the activeness of the Danish peace movement. Even a small country has a role to play in efforts in favor of detente.

The Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain [PCPE] emphasized the vital and objective need for the creation in that country of a united and strong communist party based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The PCPE Congress called for the elaboration of a joint program for the unification -- on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism -- of all Spanish communists to form a single communist party in the Leninist mold, which would have close links with the international communist movement.

The chronicle of the workers' movement reflects the working masses' turn toward more vigorous actions. The first months of the current year were marked by swelling strike action in many of the world's countries.

France, where the reactionary circles are mounting a head-on attack on the working class, is in the grip of turbulent strike actions. Railroad workers staged the longest strike in the country's postwar history and there were strikes by students, Paris municipal transport workers, and power workers. Many Spanish cities are in turmoil. South African railroad workers, communications workers, and food industry workers are fighting courageously and their strikes are merging with the increasing opposition of the country's indigenous population to the inhuman policy of apartheid. A wave of strikes by civil servants hit a number of cities in Britain in April. Social tensions are also exacerbating in the main capitalist country.

In an effort to defuse tensions, the White House has declared 1 May "Civil Rights Day." The Presidential proclamation on this subject claims that the U.S. Constitution "guarantees equal rights to all citizens." A report published recently by the American Civil Liberties Union describes the actual state of affairs much more accurately. It says: "Equality before the law is not a priority in Reagan's America. For the first time we have an administration that, it seems, is firmly opposed to the key legal and political principles the U.S. Constitution is based on. The administration is not just denying certain freedoms to certain people or groups of people; it is conducting an offensive against the whole constitutional system set up more than 200 years ago."

Dynamism, Initiative [subhead]

The Soviet Union today, Paris LE MATIN writes "is an amazing country. There is not a single gesture, not a single word, not a single initiative that comes from that country that is not received by Western countries as a shock to their indolent habits and their all-too-comfortable complacency. What is striking in this context is the parallel -- clearly a self-cancelling parallel -- between Gorbachev's dynamism and Reagan's paralysis." As we can see, the restructuring and other processes under way in the USSR are having a noticeable impact on people's frame of mind throughout the world. It is no accident that in editorials published in the Western press a campaign has been launched to discredit the restructuring in the USSR and our foreign policy. Attempts are made to intimidate people with the consequences of the revolutionary changes in the Soviet Union by claiming that as a result of the implementation of these transformations the USSR will become even more powerful -- which, it is alleged, will lead to the intensification of the "Soviet threat."

However, it is becoming increasingly difficult to uphold such propaganda stereotypes. As is known, quite a few U.S. delegations have visited the USSR recently, including U.S. Congressional delegations. And the result? THE WASHINGTON POST writes that "the lawmakers have declared that they find it necessary to review their assessment of the Soviet Union as a long-term opponent of the United States." Journalists too are having to adjust. Thus D. Oberdorfer, the paper's diplomatic correspondent, notes: "Having been to the Soviet Union four times before, I cannot recall anything resembling the present mood."

Millions of working people are gradually realizing that a transformed Land of the Soviets, acting in fraternal alliance with the countries of the socialist community, will be able even more successfully to defend universal peace and to advance the cause of mankind's progress. The improvement of all-around cooperation among the community's countries is also of key importance in this respect. Thus for instance, the friendly visit to the Soviet Union on the eve of May Day by G. Atanasov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, produced fruitful results.

The consistent, peace-loving policy of the USSR and the other socialist countries and their constructive proposals aimed at the practical resolution of the disarmament problem strengthen people's confidence that nuclear war is by no means inevitable and that a nuclear-free world is a feasible proposition. This is giving the masses of peace champions new energy. Antiwar demonstrations took place in many countries last week.

In the FRG along up to 300,000 people have taken part in recent peace marches. A rally in London's Hyde Park drew up to 100,000 people. A sea of people thronged the space around the White House and the U.S. Congress in the last few days of April in a demonstration by 150,000 people protesting the administration's aggressive foreign policy and antipopular domestic policy. Outside CIA headquarters alone, the police arrested more than 500 participants in the march.

The recent initiatives put forward by the Soviet leadership have created favorable preconditions for a breakthrough toward accords with the United States on questions of medium-range missiles in Europe. However, we must not entertain any illusions. The missile lobby in NATO countries has by no means consigned its concepts and plans to the archives.

A few days ago a report was published entitled "The Production of Nuclear Warheads in the United States," compiled by a group of prestigious U.S. scientists. "During the Reagan administration's time in office," the report says, "from 1981 through 1987 approximately 11,000 warheads and bombs of 10 different types have been produced. The budget for the production of warheads has increased from $3.4 billion in 1981 to more than $8 billion (in the submitted budget) for the next year." It is not surprising that the forces operating behind the scenes of this policy are ready to stop at nothing just to preserve the military confrontation. They are mobilizing people who, in their opinion, are capable of stopping the public -- a public that is increasingly realizing the lethal danger of the policy of nuclear confrontation -- from seeing the light. A few days ago, for instance, THE WASHINGTON POST published an article by former President R. Nixon and former Secretary of State H. Kissinger. They are both opposed to the very idea of the demilitarization of the European Continent. "Since the end of World War II," the authors state, "the Soviets' strategy has been to exploit the West's fear of nuclear weapons, and they have repeatedly called for the elimination of these weapons once and for all. If we agree to this stragegy, we will make the world a much more dangerous place. Any Western leader who encourages the Soviets' perfidious fantasies about a nuclear-free world is in for inconceivable consequences." Detailed comment on this kind of revelation by apologists for nuclear weapons is hardly necessary. That is about all you can expect from "has-beens." They have no responsibility, and their irresponsible writings bear this out. The circles heading states and governments are another matter. They have to make a choice. Let me note in this context that the Nixon-Kissinger views were not given unconditional backing even among Washington officialdom, whose representatives rejected some of the mini-linkage proposals put forward by the "has-beens."

A U.S scientist noted a few days ago that professional U.S. Sovientologists are split into two groups -- those who favor an agreement and those who want to extort concessions. The former understand that it is in the interests of the United States itself to come to an agreement with the USSR, at least on medium-range missiles. The latter advocate pressuring the USSR in an effort to extort concessions from it, while they themselves have no intention of seeking a compromise. At the same time, none of the preceding U.S. administrations has had such a good chance to achieve a new atmosphere in relations between our countries as the present one. This chance has been created by the tireless efforts of the USSR. The recent Soviet initiatives have opened up for the White House the most realistic prospect to end the current presidency with a positive result.

Thomas Watson, U.S. ambassador to the USSR between 1979 and 1981, wrote in a recent article in THE NEW YORK TIMES that at present "a remarkable opportunity has emerged to resolutely change the superpowers' course away from the fatal confrontation that has long seemed almost inevitable. However, if we miss the chance, his story will never forgive us -- if there is a history, that is."

Well, this is a sensible view. People who treasure peace are watching Washington closely. They want to see whether it will find the political will to translate the existing opportunity into reality.

The Peoples Are With Nicaragua [subhead]

Again the clanking of arms and the roar of warship and warplane motors can be heard in Central America. The Pentagon has launched yet another major show of strength there, designed to intimidate Sandinist Nicaragua and socialist Cuba and at the same time act as a warning to the patriots in El Salvador and Guatemala.

The U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers under way there are codenamed "Solid Shield-87." In actual fact this militarist action has nothing in common with a "shield." It is a matter of further sharpening and readying the sword for armed aggression against freedom-loving peoples.

The scenario of the exercises, which are being held in two stages and in which 50,000 American and 7,000 Honduran soldiers are taking part, could not be more provocative. It is not just a matter of rehearsing the repulsion of an imaginary incursion into Honduran territory. There is also a plan to rehearse the "evacuation of the U.S naval base at Guantanamo, Cuba."

More and more frequently it is possible to hear admissions in the United States that the defeat of the Somoza rabble is inevitable. The "contra" gangs may still be able to blow up dams and power lines and kill women and children, but they are incapable of fulfilling the task set them by their foreign patron, namely overthrowing the government of Nicaragua, which has the support of the people. The squabbles in the lair of the counterrevolution itself have reached such a level that all the Somozista leaders have fallen out with each other and their "leadership structure has collapsed.

With Directive 12513, back on 1 May 1985, the White House introduced a 2-year "national emergency" on the pretext of a threat to the United States allegedly emanating from Nicaragua. Although it has not proved possible to undermine the foundations of the people's revolution in Sandinist's country, this plan has not been abandoned. A few days ago the President sent a notification to the U.S. Congress repeating the absurd claims that Nicaragua presents an "unusually serious extreme threat to U.S. national security and foreign policy" and declares that the "national emergency" will be extended beyond 1 May 1987.

The "Solid Shield-87" maneuvers are an indication of the aims served by the aforementioned White House notifications. Rather than ordinary military exercises, it is a question of substantial troop concentrations by an aggressor and his mercenaries for the purpose of rehearsing operations for the invasion of an independent country.

The circles that determine Washington's policy are playing a dangerous game. They are in fact teetering on the brink of a large-scale military intervention. However, it would do no harm to the inspirers of this policy to remember that Nicaragua is a freedom-loving independent country that has independently elected its path of development. Its free people have already proved that they are capable of defending their just cause. They have on their side the solidarity of all progressive mankind. And that is a tremendous force in our time.

'INDIGNATION' EXPRESSED OVER DIPLOMATS' ACTIONS

LD061649 Moscow TASS in English 1629 GMT 6 May 87

[Text] Frunze, Kirghizia, May 6 TASS -- Two Frunze students in a note to the Foreign Ministry of Soviet Kirghizia have expressed indignation over actions by American diplomatic representatives. The same document has been sent to the Foreign Ministry of the USSR.

Earl Irving and Stephen Young, second secretaries of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, recently visited Kirghizia. What they were interested in, however, were not the republic's sights or achievements.

Having made an acquaintance with students named Kuvanbek and Kuvanychbek, the overseas visitors sought to find out how Kirghizian youth assessed the developments in Alma-Ata last December and whether such acts of hooliganism were possible in the neighbouring republic.

Later on, having probably decided that they had well prepared the ground, they started persuading the young men to "unite." They assured them that they could "attain their objectives" only through concerted effort and through constant "youth actions on an ethnic basis."

The lads were puzzled, but the Americans went on by producing their best trump card: If you could unite and jointly act against the Russians, we, that is, the United States, could help you as we are helping the Afghan insurgents.

Irving and Young are no ordinary Americans. They are embassy officials, so they could not fail to know that such remarks on their part constitute gross interference in the Soviet Union's internal affairs and are incompatible with their status and objectives of their stay in this country.

Even their young interlocutors, who are not very well versed in the diplomatic etiquette, expressed indignation over the activity of the unbidden advisers or, to put it plainly, provocateurs.

One can object that their conduct does not constitute U.S. state policy, but is, rather, a manifestation of Irving's and Young's personal views.

How can one understand then the fact that the other recent visitors to Kirghizia from the American Embassy, Assistant Air Attache Allen Westrom and Assistant to the Ambassador Clifford Hart, repeated in a similar situation nearly word by word the "diplomatic speeches" pronounced by Irving and Young?

Isn't the coincidence too striking?

Soviet people's hospitality is well known. We are glad to welcome anyone who sincerely wants to know more about our country's life. But we are glad to meet only those visitors who come here with an open heart and who respect the laws of hospitality.

ZHOLKVER COMMENTS ON DEFENSE BUDGET VOTE

LD061912 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 6 May 87

[Text] Last night the U.S. House of Representatives voted by a majority for a reduction in U.S. military expenditure by $23 billion in the next fiscal year. Here is a "Latest News" commentary: At the microphone is our political observer, Aleksandr Zholkver.

[Zholkver] I wouldn't be too enthusiastic in commenting on the results of the voting in Congress. In the first place, it still provided the Pentagon with a big enough sum -- $289 billion -- and, secondly, the Congress' decision is not a final one. The military budget is still to be debated in the Senate, and more sympathy for the Pentagon's wishes is expected there.

Nevertheless, the voting in Congress seems to me worthy of note. In my view, it reflects those shoots of the new political thinking that seem to be starting to push up the harsh Washington soil. For, you know, it was only recently that the doctrines of the policy of strength were sprouting here. The whole world was seen as a kind of inherited estate of the United States in which the more bombs and missiles -- especially nuclear ones -- America has, the better it would be to govern.

However, of late, more and more U.S. politicians, it seems, are beginning to realize the hopelessness and the danger of such a course. In the same Congress, during the debate on the military budget, numerous amendments were submitted calling for a curb in the arms race, an end to nuclear tests and the aversion of the threat of "Star Wars." Influential committees in Congress have just adopted a special amendment prohibiting the administration from violating the Soviet-U.S. treaty on limiting antimissile defense.

It is true, though, that reports of quite a different kind are coming in from Washington. For example, it is reported that the Pentagon is currently engaged not so much on plans to scrap its Pershings in Western Europe as on plans to deploy the new operational and tactical missiles on the European Continent.

An acute confrontation between the old and new political thinking is also gaining ground in Western Europe itself. The Congress of social-democratic parties of Western Europe has just adopted a special resolution calling for the scrapping of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles on the European Continent. The trade unions in the FRG are saying the same. But, here in the FRG, people like Strauss oppose the zero option and are demanding the setting up of a European nuclear potential in collaboration with France. Incidentally, a further test of a French nuclear weapon was carried out on Mururoa Atoll last night.

Such is the complex, and in many ways contradictory, situation in the world today. And yet, the quest for a way out of the nuclear deadlock and the working out of a new political thinking that would open the way to a nuclear-free world goes on, and it is our country's peace initiatives that are the motive force behind this process which is so important for all mankind.

TRADE RIFT PERSISTS DESPITE NAKASONE'S VISIT

PM061405 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 May 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "U.S.-Japan: Contradictions Remain"]

[Text] Washington, 2 May -- "U.S.-Japanese relations remain uncertain"; "the leaders ended the talks expressing vague disappointment" -- such were the U.S. mass media's comments on the outcome of the 2-day talks between President Reagan and Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, which ended here Friday.

The talks' central theme was trade and economic relations between the two countries, which acutely deteriorated after Washington imposed a 100-percent duty on a number of Japanese imported goods. In THE NEW YORK TIMES' words, the talks abounded in rhetoric and promises but brought little progress in the matter of resolving the problems.

President Reagan emphasized that, despite the Japanese prime minister's appeals, the United States does not intend for the moment to lift the economic sanctions it has imposed against Japan. As the president stated, the administration has merely agreed to reexamine the U.S.-Japanese trade situation in mid-May.

Nakasone Comments

LD060814 Moscow TASS in English 0648 GMT 6 May 87

[Text] Tokyo May 6 TASS — Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone told parliament today that his visit to the United States had failed to smooth out differences between the two countries in the trade and economic field.

The results of the talks with U.S. President Ronald Reagan and other officials "were not sufficient" to ease off tensions in Japan-U.S. relations -- tensions which were without a precedent in post-war history, the Japanese prime minister said, answering a query of a socialist deputy in the upper chamber of the Diet.

During his visit Yasuhiro Nakasone failed to get a concrete answer from the United States to the request that economic sanctions against Japanese electronic companies be lifted. Despite Washington's promises to stabilize the exchange rate of the U.S. dollar against the yen, the Japanese currency still remains "too expensive" for the Japanese economy to withstand competition on international markets.

U.S.-JAPANESE SECRET NUCLEAR ACCORD EXAMINED

LD052128 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1626 GMT 5 May 87

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Yevgeniy Grachev with Sergey Pravdin]

[Text] [Grachev] Here is a report concerning the Land of the Rising Sun. Yet more proof of the existence of a secret accord between the Washington administration and the conservative Government of Japan has been discovered, regarding the siting of U.S. nuclear weapons on Japanese territory.

According to THE ASSOCIATED PRESS a document has been discovered in the Pentagon archives, from which it is apparent that on the aircraft carrier Midway, which is part of the U.S. 7th Fleet, there is a special group -- I am quoting the document -- for guarding, assembling, and arming nuclear weapons. I should recall that 3 weeks ago there was a major political scandal in Japan, when THE JAPAN TIMES reported for the first time about the presence of the aforementioned secret U.S.-Japanese agreement. That report was rejected immediately, and most catgegorically, by the Japanese Government. It also resolutely rejected all the admissions by a number of former high-ranking U.S. officials that followed that publication.

My colleague Sergey Pravdin will talk in more detail about the development of this scandal, and about the U.S. buildup of its nuclear arsenal in the Asia-Pacific region. Over to you, Sergey Yevgeniyevich.

[Pravdin] An old Japanese proverb says: You cannot hide a bamboo shoot in the earth. The U.S. and Japanese ruling circles have not managed to keep concealed a secret agreement on nuclear weapons, which violates the postwar Japanese Constitution in the crudest way. The Japanese press often calls it peaceful. Yes, that document forbids Japan from setting up an army, and limits military expenditure to 1 percent of the annual gross national product. [paragraph continues]

It contains a rejection of war and proclaims, in essence, Japan's nonnuclear status. Now it turns out that the last of those principles, concerning nonnuclear status, has also been consigned to oblivion, under U.S. pressure.

The main reason for that lurks in the military-strategic cooperation between the two countries, within the framework of the so-called Security Pact, foisted upon Japan, and in the Japanese ruling circles' support for the U.S. neoglobalist course. The basis of the latter is, in particular, the buildup of nuclear weapons in the most strategically important regions, including the Asia-Pacific region, too. The press has reported the presence of nuclear weapons at a whole number of U.S. military bases in that region, including on Okinawa, in South Korea, on the island of Guam, and in the Philippines. An attempt is being made to conceal all that with the Pentagon principle -- in quotation marks of course -- to neither confirm nor deny the presence of nuclear weapons on U.S. bases overseas or on warships that visit foreign ports. Incidentally, the aircraft carrier Midway is based in the Japanese port of Yokosuka.

These dangerous plans cannot but arouse anxiety and, of course, provoke corresponding measures in response, on the part of the states of that region, including the Soviet Union, to ensure their security. Let us recall the Ratonga Treaty, which proclaimed the southern part of the Pacific Ocean to be a nuclear-free zone. Having noted that the Soviet Union is also an Asian and Pacific country, and that the complex problems of that region concern it closely, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said in his speech in Vladivostok: We often hear from abroad various conjectures about a Soviet buildup of military might in the east of the country. I declare in all responsibility: We are not doing, and will not do, anything over and above that which corresponds to the minimum requirements of our defense, the protection of our friends and allies. That also applies fully to medium-range missiles.

Having set forth an extensive program for safeguarding peace and security in the Asia and Pacific region the Soviet leader stressed that the USSR is in favor of including the Asia-Pacific region in the overall process of setting up an all-embracing system of international security, announced at the 27th CPSU Congress.

DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENTS SIGNED WITH ROK

LD070732 Moscow TASS in English 0652 GMT 7 May 87

[Text] Washington May 7 TASS -- On Wednesday, U.S. Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger and Yi Ki-paek, South Korean minister of national defence, signed new agreements in the field of military cooperation.

A Pentagon spokesman has said that the first of the agreements reaffirms the existing accords concerning the issues of support for the American Armed Forces assigned for the joint defence of South Korea.

The other agreement concerns the storing of up-to-date ammunition at military depots in South Korea.

The Pentagon's statement emphasises that the agreements will lead to upgrading capability for the conduct of military operations by U.S. and South Korean Armed Forces.

Yi Ki-paek is now in Washington, attending the current 19th U.S.-South Korean annual consultative meeting on security issues.

PENTAGON 'STEPPING UP' ASIA-PACIFIC REGION BUILDUP

PM051619 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Apr 87 First Edition p 3

[I. Lebedev article: "Pentagon Reorganizes Command for Adventures in the Pacific"]

[Text] The Pentagon is stepping up its "military muscle game" to keep the Pacific Ocean under control. Such is the recurring theme of the international community's assessments of decisions made recently by the U.S. military department. This concerns the plan announced by J. Marsh, U.S. secretary of the Army. It envisages the reorganization of the command of U.S. ground forces in the vast Asia-Pacific region.

What is the essence of this plan? A joint ground forces headquarters (following the example of the Air Force and the Navy) is being set up in Hawaii. With the aim of "efficiency," all contingents of U.S. GIs stationed at the numerous military bases and installations that entangle in their sinister web Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines will be subordinate to it... The Japanese newspaper MAINICHI notes: The program is being undertaken in the event of an "emergency." What kind exactly? Citing a source in the Japan Defense Agency, the newspaper indicates: A strengthened potential for "forward deployment," spearheaded against the Soviet Union, is being prepared.

In the opinion of observers, this means building up the Pentagon's military machine in the region. But recent years have already witnessed an accelerated buildup. The U.S. Armed Forces grouping in the Asia-Pacific region is already the second most significant. It numbers half a million personnel, about 180 warships, and more than 1,100 warplanes. Their arsenals include various types of nuclear weapons and carrier vehicles: fighter-bombers and sea- and air-launched cruise missiles.

The nuclear weapons are sited at the Pentagon's "hornets' nests" in the countries of this region and also on board ships. It is noteworthy that the U.S. fleet's "zone of responsibility" — which previously included only the Pacific Ocean seaboard of the United States — has recently been extended as far as Soviet shores. It is impossible to pass over reports that in the next 2 years the United States is planning to erect a large station on Amchitka Island in the Aleutian archipelago to monitor Soviet ports in the Bering Sea and the Sea of Okhotsk. It will be equipped with the latest "over-the-horizon" radars with a particularly long effective range." Also, an endless succession of military maneuvers is being carried out in the Pacific "in conditions approximating to combat conditions."

Nor in its strategy does the military department on the Potomac forget about its partners, intimidating them with a nonexistent "Soviet threat." Thus, the Pentagon is also counting on including Japan's ground forces in its dangerous new plans. The KYODO news agency points this out. This is alarming the public of the Asian countries. By no means all of them allow themselves to be lulled by talk of "Tokyo's political role" in the region, clearly anxious about the growth of a Japanese military might which has long outgrown the limits of national self-defense. And although Prime Minister Y. Nakasone stresses that he does not intend to turn the country into a "military giant," the facts say otherwise. In terms of their saturation with modern military hardware the country's Armed Forces are considerably more powerful than the forces of prewar militarist Japan when they were preparing for aggression against other states. The ambitions of Tokyo's militarist circles are encouraged by the aggressive policy of Washington, which regards the Japanese islands as an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" and regional gendarme.

The Japanese press directly links the reorganization of the Pentagon command with plans for the transfer of 50 U.S. F-16 fighter-bombers to the Misawa air base and the strengthening of the U.S. military contingent in South Korea. In a word, preparation is under way for adventures that could automatically involve the countries where the Pentagon's "mercenaries" are stationed.

Washington has obviously decided to "forget" the ignominious finale of its previous aggressions in this region. This conclusion suggests itself if one remembers that an analogous Pentagon headquarters already existed in exotic Hawaii -- in the years of the U.S. war in Vietnam.

The peoples of the Asia-Pacific region have experienced several misfortunes in their time. The seats of concealed and overt conflicts there have not been liquidated to this day. And one of the main reasons is the U.S. military presence. For as long as Washington counts on force here, peace in Asia and the Pacific will be fragile. The interests of the region's peoples require the pooling of their efforts in order to lay the foundations for the general Asian security the USSR and other peace-loving states are calling for.

PAPER NOTES ESPIONAGE 'FLOPS' SINCE U-2 INCIDENT

PM061213 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Apr 87 First Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Markushin article under the rubric "International Notes": "The Lessons Have Not Been Learned"]

[Text] When you read through material on the scandalous U.S. intelligence failures, you cannot help noticing a very characteristic fact: On the one hand, each time the act of espionage in question has pursued a political aim and, on the other, official Washington's reaction is always the same -- it tries to dissociate itself from its unsuccessful enterprise at all costs.

More than 25 years ago, on 1 May 1960, the flight by the U.S. pilot Francis Powers in the Lockheed U-2 reconnaissance aircraft came to an inglorious end. I should remind you that the aircraft took off from the Peshawar region, now well known as a refuge for dushman groups sent into Afghanistan, and was brought down by Soviet anti-aircraft defense in the Sverdlovsk region.

The sorry outcome of this carefully prepared spy enterprise came as a complete surprise to the White House. It found itself, to use the expression of a Western newspaper, in the situation of a child with his hand in the cookie jar. Not knowing that Powers was still alive, the Washington administration behaved as if it had never heard of any U-2 and the spy pilot had taken off on his journey from Pakistan to Norway at his own initiative. But when the whole world was presented with irrefutable evidence that the White House was lying in an attempt to get through the episode unscathed, the secretary of state at the time, Herter, said: Yes, we have sent out spies and will continue to do so, because U.S. security requires it.

This cynicism on the part of a high-ranking official was no accident. Like the act of espionage itself, this defiant pose pursued a quite definite provocative aim: to put a stop to the barely noticeable rise in temperature in East-West relations at the time and wreck the forthcoming Paris summit meeting involving the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union.

A decent interval divides us from that ill-starred flight. During these years something has changed in the behavior of some official White House representatives. They now prefer their espionage missions to be conducted less clumsily. Otherwise everything is still the same.

Let us turn to recent cases. Another wave of spy mania has been stirred up in the United States recently. It is quite obvious that this has been done to weaken the impact on world opinion of the extensive Soviet initatives and to frustrate the planned agreement on medium-range missiles. The role of chief organizer in this shady business has naturally been played by the CIA, whose leaders, incidentally, talk increasingly often of the need for their department to be more actively involved in determining the country's foreign policy.

The American NEWSDAY has written in this connection: "This gigantic apparatus has to justify its existence. The intelligence services flourish when the international situation deteriorates. They are sworn enemies of detente, because they realize that if the cold war were to end they would risk losing their careers, promotion prospects, pensions, and trips abroad. All this explains the appearance of the numerous spy stories about conspiracies and threats of infiltration that, as if at a command, appear in the mass media at the precise moment when there is any likelihood of a thaw in international affairs.'

There is no need to argue. The transatlantic press is in a better position to see what is happening before its very eyes. But this is not the main thing. The main point is that the United States has proved unable, or perhaps has simply had no desire to learn its lesson from the failure of the U-2 spy adventure and has failed to draw conclusions from the dozens of other similar flops but continues to operate by the old methods.

CIA SAID CIRCULATING COUNTERFEIT MONEY IN DRA

LD041954 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT 4 May 87

[Text] Washington May 4 TASS -- The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency has for years been carrying out purposeful economic subversion against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan by printing and putting into circulation counterfeit Afghan banknotes.

THE WASHINGTON POST reported today that the American espionage agency was using the bogus notes to pay Pakistan-based Afghan counter-revolutionaries.

The principal objective of the top-secret operation is to circulate bad money inside Afghanistan.

DEATH OF FORMER CIA DIRECTOR CASEY REPORTED

LD061501 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 6 May 87

[Text] New York May 6 TASS -- Former CIA Director William Casey has died at a hospital in Glen Cove, New York. According to doctors, the death was caused by pneumonia.

Casey was one of the key figures in the Irangate scandal. The investigation revealed that he had given patently false testimony regarding the CIA role in the covert operation on U.S. arms deliveries to Iran and the illegal use of part of the proceeds to finance Nicaraguan Contras.

William Casey, who was 74 years old, was recently operated on for brain tumor.

SUPREME SOVIET DELEGATION CONTINUES DRA VISIT

PM061201 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Apr 87 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Visit of Delegation"]

[Text] Kabul, 29 Apr — The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation led by Deputy L.B. Yermin, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, continues to get acquainted with life in the DRA.

On 28 April the delegation met with A.R. Khatef [name as published], chairman of the DRA National Front Central Council and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Extraordinary Commission for National Reconciliation in Afghanistan. The National Front, A.R. Khatef said, has about 1 million members and 3,500 departments throughout the country. On the activity of the Supreme Extraordinary Commission for National Reconciliation, A.R. Khatef reported it is conducting important work to propagandize the ideas of national reconciliation and explain them to the people.

On the same day the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation visited the Kabul City Jirgah (city council). During a conversation A. Sangin [name as published], chairman of the Kabul City Council of People's Representatives Executive Committee, detailed the problems facing the Afghan capital, and the plans for developing and reconstructing Kabul.

The Soviet delegation also gave a news conference for local and foreign journalists during which they discussed in detail the Soviet Union's peaceful initiatives, Soviet-Afghan relations, and the activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and answered journalists' questions.

PRAVDA CITES KCNA ON SR-71 'INTRUSION' OVER DPRK

PM061343 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "DPRK Airspace Violated"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 29 Apr — According to a KCNA report, a U.S. SR-71 supersonic strategic reconnaissance aircraft intruded into DPRK airspace this morning and flew over the republic's territorial waters east of Kosong City. Thirteen similar provocations have been recorded this month.

DOBRYNIN HOLDS TALKS WITH INDIAN CP LEADER

LD051832 Moscow TASS in English 1749 GMT 5 May 87

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS -- Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoliy Dobrynin met today with General Secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India Rajeshwara Rao.

They had an exchange of opinions on topical problems of the present-day international situation, of the struggle for peace, against the menance of nuclear war. The friendly, dynamically developing Soviet-Indian relations which were brought to a qualitatively new level as a result of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Delhi in November 1986, his talks with Rajiv Gandhi, were highly assessed. The representatives of the CPSU and the Communist Party of India noted that the Delhi declaration on the principles for a nuclear weapon-free and non-violent world met with broad recognition in the world as a document which is a striking example of new political thinking in international affairs.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee spoke about the progress of the reorganization that started in the USSR, about the concrete programme of the renovation of all aspects of the life of Soviet society set out in the decisions of the January (1987) plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

The general secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India pointed to the exceptional importance of the revolutionary transformations made in the Soviet Union for the entire world development. He emphasized that the reorganization shows clearly huge opportunities and advantages of the socialist system, strengthens the positions of communists, the working class, progressive forces in all countries. Rajeshwara Rao highly assessed the foreign policy of the CPSU, the new Soviet peace initiatives. He said that the Communist Party of India, on its part, exerts vigorous efforts toward the further development of the anti-war movement and drawing broad masses in it.

Rajeshwara Rao said that the Indian Communists are conducting a consistent struggle against the attempts of internal reaction and imperialism to destabilize the situation in India. He emphasized the importance of cooperation of all left, truly democratic, anti-imperialist forces of India in the struggle for the consolidation of the country's independence, its unity and territorial integrity.

The representatives of the CPSU and the Communist Party of India confirmed the mutual striving of both parties to strengthen traditional fraternal ties in the interests of peace and security of peoples, the further development of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and India.

AFGHAN AMBASSADOR DISCUSSES APRIL REVOLUTION

LD272216 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 27 Apr 87

[Talk by DRA Ambassador Habib Mangal; date and place not given -- live or recorded; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Dear friends. The Afghan people's April Revolution is continuing. People's power is gaining strength and its social base is broadening. A vivid example of this is the National Front of Afghanistan, which brings together in its ranks over 1 million of the best people's representatives. The PDPA, which marches in the vanguard of revolutionary transformations, is growing.

The country's economy is growing. Enormous aid is rendered to us by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Significant cultural transformations have occurred in the country. The campaign against illiteracy is being successfully conducted. The revolution is successfully defending itself. The country's new armed forces are increasing in might, and their links to the people are growing stronger.

This year the Afghan people are marking the 9th anniversary of the April Revolution under the implementation of the line of national reconciliation. Over 2,000 people have laid down their arms and crossed to the state's side. Hundreds of armed groups have ceased fire and are engaged in talks with the government. Talks have begun on establishing a coalition government in the country, with representatives of opposition groups taking part. The halting of the fratricidal war is not to the liking of world imperialism or reactionaries in the region, or of a small bunch of traitors to the people. The program of national reconciliation in the country is not a temporary measure, nor is it some kind of political maneuver on our part; rather it is a stable long-term policy. It has evoked an ardent response in the hearts of our people and of the majority of our compatriots abroad. Over this period over 50,000 Afghan refugees have returned to the homeland, and were it not for obstacles placed in the way by Pakistan and Iran there would be more of them. The Soviet Union and all progressive forces in the world are rendering us all manner of aid and resolutely support the policy of national reconciliation and of settling the situation around Afghanistan.

The DRA's international prestige is growing. Afghan-Soviet friendship, which goes back to the great Lenin, is inviolable. The talks held between Comrade Najib and Comrade Gorbachev were just one more step in strengthening our friendship, which is of historic importance.

Permit me, in conclusion, to voice our profound indebtedness and gratitude to the Soviet Union for its enormous, inestimable aid to the DRA. We are making use of the experience of the process of restructuring and formation of a new way of thinking which has been begun by the Leninist communist party. We resolutely support the Soviet Union's proposals directed at achieving peace and international security. The cause of the April Revolution will be victorious. Thank you for your attention.

BUDNIK OUSTER PROTESTED, NEW ZEALAND ENVOY EXPELLED

LD071134 Moscow TASS in English 1112 GMT 7 May 87

[Text] Moscow May 7 TASS -- The USSR Foreign Ministry on May 7 resolutely protested to New Zealand's charges d'affaires in the Soviet Union over a provocative action staged by the New Zealand authorities with regard to Counsellor of the USSR Embassy in New Zealand Sergey Budnik.

Groundless, unsubstantiated charges of activity incompatible with diplomatic status were levelled against him, and he was told to leave the country.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry rejected the trumped-up charges against the Soviet diplomat, describing the New Zealand authorities' actions as openly unfriendly and pursuing the aim of generating mistrust in the Soviet Union's peaceful policy in the world arena and in the Asian-Pacific region and worsening the atmosphere of bilateral USSR-New Zealand relations.

It was emphasized that all responsibility for possible negative consequences of the action would rest with the New Zealand side.

The charge d'affaires was told that attache of the New Zealand Embassy in Moscow D.J. Nikol (name transcribed from the Russian -- TASS) was declared persona non grata for activity incompatible with the status of diplomatic representative and was offered to leave the USSR within seven days.

The statement says that while confirming its principled course towards developing constructive relations with New Zealand, the Soviet side expects that the New Zealand side will end attempts directed at creating a subnormal situation around the USSR Embassy in Wellington and will not pose artificial obstacles in the way of improving bilateral relations which would meet the interests of peace and international security, including in the Asian and Pacific region.

MONOGRAPH PUBLISHED ON HISTORY OF CPSU-CPV TIES

PM061345 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "New Monograph"]

[Text] A new monograph entitled "International Cooperation between the CPSU and the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam]: History and the Present" has been published. It is devoted to an analysis of the historical experience of the cooperation between the two fraternal parties. The book reveals the decisive importance of the Great October Socialist Revolution for the development of the liberation movement in Vietnam and studies questions of the cooperation between the CPSU and the CPV, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in the economic, scientific, technical, political, and cultural spheres.

The monograph has been compiled by the CPSU Central Committee and CPV Central Committee Institutes of Marxism-Leninism and published by the Political Literature Publishing House.

GORBACHEV TO VISIT ROMANIA 'AROUND' 25 MAY

AU071123 Paris AFP in English 1117 GMT 7 May 87

[Text] Vienna, May 7 (AFP) -- Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will make his first official visit to Romania around May 25, Western diplomatic sources said here Thursday.

The sources said Mr Gorbachev could spend two days in Romania, the only East bloc country he has not yet visited, before the regular session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact in Berlin at the end of the month.

The Political Consultative Committee is the highest authority in the East bloc military alliance, comprising the heads of the Communist Parties in the seven member countries.

GDR DEFENSE MINISTER KESSLER INTERVIEWED

PM010815 Moscow TRUD in Russian 28 Apr 87 p 3

[Interview with Heinz Kessler, SED Central Committee Politburo member and GDR national defense minister, by TRUD special correspondents Yu. Dmitriyev and Yu. Mayorov under the rubric "Pulse of the Planet": "Watching Over Peaceful Labor" -- date and place not given]

[Text] Berlin -- [Reporter] Comrade Kessler! You are national defense minister of the first worker-peasant state in German history. Tell us about your life.

[Kessler] I was born in 1920, the son of a worker. My parents were members of the Communist Party of Germany. I grew up in the major German industrial center now known as Karl-Marx-Stadt. Even as a schoolboy I was a member of the communist children's and youth movement and was raised in the spirit of friendship with the Soviet Union. After completing training as a fitter and after several years' work during the Hitler dictatorship, I was drafted into the fascist Wehrmacht in 1940. My crossing over to the Red Army at the first opportunity in July 1941, a few weeks after Nazi German's perfidious attack on the Soviet Union, was a logical step considering my previous development.

Soviet and German Communists enlisted me for antifascist activity on the side of the Red Army. I participated in the creation of the "Free Germany" national committee. As a front-line agent for this organization I operated on the Bryansk and 3d Belorussian Fronts and carried out explanatory work among German prisoners of war.

In spring 1945 I returned to Germany and became a member of the Communist Party of Germany. The party instructed me to take charge of youth work in Berlin. Thus is was that my signature found itself alongside those of Erich Honecker and other leading young antifascists on the decision to set up the Free German Youth [FDJ] in 1946. I was a member of the party board and became a member of the SED Central Committee (at the party's inaugural congress in 1946) and of the FDJ Central Council.

When it became necessary to establish GDR armed organs, in 1950, the party sent me to take up a leading post in the people's police. After graduating from the USSR Academy of the Air Force in 1956, I was appointed GDR deputy national defense minister and worked successively as commander of the Air Force and Air Defense Forces, chief of Main Staff and chief of the National People's Army Main Political Directorate. [paragraph continues]

On 3 December 1985, I was appointed national defense minister, and at the 11th party congress in April 1986 I was elected member of the SED Central Committee Politburo.

[Reporter] The Soviet peace initiatives have aroused a great deal of interest everywhere. What is your assessment of the world situation?

[Kessler] It is evident that the detailed peace initiatives and proposals of the Soviet Union and our socialist community on disarmament and the proposals by individual parties, such as the SED initiative on creating in Central Europe a zone free from chemical weapons and a nuclear-free corridor as well, are encountering increasing worldwide approval. Leading politicians of the NATO states are finding it increasingly difficult to reject the proposals or avoid them. At the same time, people of various political beliefs and nationalities are coming together to implement mankind's great ideal of "peace on earth," which was expressed both at the Moscow forum "For a Nuclear-Free World and for Mankind's Survival" and at the Berlin international youth forum. All these inspiring actions give grounds for an optimistic prognosis -- through radical disarmament, including disarmament in the conventional weapons sphere, "an age of peace" could be opened up, as SED Central Committee General Secretary E. Honecker said in this speech to leading SED personnel.

But every step forward in this area, we have no illusions about it, has to be wrung from the enemies of detente, who still determine policy to a decisive extent in the United States and the other NATO states. As yet there have been no marked cuts in the U.S. and NATO arms buildup programs. The militarization of space is still seen by the Reagan administration as an essential step toward achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union.

The military policy of the major European states, for all their differences with the United States, amounts to support for its "neoglobalism."

These and many other dangerous facts make it incumbent on the Warsaw Pact states and their armed forces to do all they can to prevent a war, to do everything to ensure that socialism, as the most importance force of peace in our area, is able to maintain military equilibrium at the lowest possible level, so that our countries can continue to develop their economic and scientific-technical might for the welfare and benefit of our peoples.

[Reporter] The world public is extensively discussing the USSR's proposals on eliminating medium-range missiles in Europe. What can you say about this?

[Kessler] The leadership of our party and state, the entire GDR people, and their Army unconditionally and wholeheartedly support CPSU Central Committee Genral Secretary M.S. Gorbachev's proposal on an agreement on eliminating U.S. and Soviet medium-range missiles in Europe. Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, immediately proposed to FRG Federal Chancellor H. Kohl on a meeting between representatives of the two German states to effectively carry out their special duty to promote the process of disarmament in central Europe. Moreover, the first conversations have already taken place with a representative of the FRG federal chancellor. Now the GDR, together with the CSSR and the other fraternal countries, is taking steps to make the proposals by the SED, CPCZ, and Social Democratic Party of Germany on establishing a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe the subject of talks between governments.

But, at the same time, we see in the NATO states and also in the FRG attempts by reactionary and revanchist circles to pile up obstacles in the way of the achievement of an agreement. These attempts, as well as certain official FRG Government pronouncements, patently contradict the repeated pledge that never again will the threat of war emanate from German soil. [paragraph continues]

We note with the same concern and attention all that is being done in the FRG to spread anticommunist sentiments among the population and in the armed forces, to maintain the lie about the "threat from the East," and to spread fear of the socialist states and their armies. All this reminds us of our special responsibility here, in the center of Europe, for safeguarding peace and for the collective defense of socialism.

[Reporter] Tell us about the military collaboration between troops of the GDR National People's Army and Soviet troops.

[Kessler] Joint exercises between the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and the National People's Army ended recently on GDR territory. These exercises, which were observed by numerous invited foreign military men in line with the Stockholm accords, demonstrated the high level of unity and cohesion of actions between the leadership staffs and the two armies' participating units. Somewhat earlier there was the Brotherhood-in-Arms Week which we hold every year between 23 February and 1 March, the anniversaries of our two armies, which is accompanied by numerous events attended by a large number of working people and youth representatives.

Indeed, when we talk about relations between our armies, we are talking about a genuine alliance in terms of class and arms, that is, about more than well-oiled military collaboration. This military collaboration has deep historical roots. For us German Communists, it embodies the behests of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck. This brotherhood-in-arms is part of our alliance with the USSR, which, as Comrade Erich Honecker said, "has always been for us a question of class stance." Therefore, German-Soviet friendship and brotherhood-in-arms will always be for us the key question in the education and combat training of our servicemen and permeate all aspects of our army's life.

The plans for cooperation between the GDR National Defense Ministry and staff of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, which have been signed and reported on for many years now, fill many pages in the book of friendship. This year too the comparison of indicators figures prominently in the program, together with political and military measures. Our soldiers and seamen are competing with their class brothers in military training, in sport and games. The 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army in 1988 are landmarks in cooperation between our peoples and armies. We will use these anniversaries to make every National People's Army serviceman even more conscious of the influence of Great October on the course of world history and of its significance as the start of a new era in world history and of the victory of Marxism-Leninism.

CSSR'S STROUGAL GREETS RYZHKOV FROM PLANE

PM061059 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "From Aboard Plane"]

[Text] Lubomir Strougal, the Czechoslovak premier, addressed a cable to N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, from aboard his plane. The telegram reads:

"Overflying the territory of the Soviet Union on my return home after a visit to the PRC, I avail myself of the opportunity to wish you, dear Nikolay Ivanovich, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the entire fraternal Soviet people much success in the implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and in the revolutionary restructuring of the life of your socialist society in the year of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution."

KOHL ISSUES GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON DISARMAMENT

LD070951 Moscow TASS in English 0922 GMT 7 May 87

[Text] Bonn May 7 TASS -- TASS correspondents Vladimir Serov and Vladimir Smelov report:

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who made a government statement on disarmament problems today, did not formulate in it Bonn's final position on Soviet proposals for eliminating medium-range and theater missiles from Europe.

He explained that in his statement he had only summed up the "intermediate results" of debates on disarmament.

While calling for a "global zero solution" for the medium-range missiles, Kohl at the same time voiced opposition to abolishing this class of missiles in Europe on the pretext that this would "complicate verification of the disarmament process".

The West German head of government effectively evaded giving a response to the Soviet proposal for eliminating also theater missiles from Europe.

While claiming he shared the Soviet view on the need for new thinking, he nevertheless talked once again about the importance of nuclear weapons to ensure the security of the West and repeated untenable allegations about a "Soviet military advantages".

IZVESTIYA NOTES DELEGATION'S 'FRANK' TALKS IN FRG

PM061121 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 May 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Soviet Delegation's Stay in FRG"]

[Text] Bonn, 5 May -- The Soviet delegation headed by V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, which is visiting the FRG, had meetings with FRG Chancellor H. Kohl and FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher.

Certain questions of Soviet-West German relations were examined in a businesslike and frank [otkrovennyy] atmosphere. Particular attention was devoted to the opportunities for expanding and deepening cooperation in various areas first and foremost the area of agro-industrial production. It was noted that the necessary objective prerequisites exist for this. The USSR and the FRG have considerable economic and scientific potential and are major producers and consumers of agro-industrial produce. This cooperation should be both mutually advantageous and stable.

The West German side stressed that the FRG Government advocates the development of bilateral relations in all areas. It was noted that this is of great importance not only for both states but for East and West as a whole.

The USSR delegation was informed of the statement by H. Kohl and H.-D. Genscher pertaining to their readiness to expand cooperation with the Soviet Union. This creates the prerequisites for strengthening mutual trust, for ensuring progress along the path of detente and disarmament, and for strengthening international security. In this regard the delegation recalled the USSR's wide-ranging proposals over the entire range of problems relating to arms control and disarmament.

GERMAN CP CLAIMS NEUTRON SHELL DEPLOYMENT IN FRG

PM061203 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 87 Second Edition p 5

[Correspondent Yu. Yakhontov dispatch: "Kept From the Public"]

[Text] Bonn, 29 Apr -- It has become known here that the U.S. command embarked on the secret placing of neutron charges in the FRG as long ago as last year. Documents to bear this out were presented at a press conference held in Mainz by the leadership of the German Communist Party local organization in Rhineland-Palatinate. Dieter Doerflinger, chairman of the board, and Wolfgang Bartels, member of the secretariat -- both candidates in the local Landtag elections scheduled for 17 May -- have thus thwarted the ruling Christian Democratic Union leadership's plan to keep this alarming information from the public.

According to British sources, the newspaper UNSERE ZEIT writes, there are already 300 neutron charges for howitzer artillery in the FRG. The U.S. Air Force has delivered these lethal munitions to the USAF base at Ramstein. Subsequently they were taken to the depot at Weilerbach and from there distributed to U.S. and Bundeswehr military units.

Neutron weapons are stationed in at least four places in Rhineland-Palatinate. At Landstein, where the 155th self-propelled artillery division is stationed; at Idar-Oberstein with the 6th U.S. Field Artillery Division and the Bundeswehr field artillery college; and in Baumholder and Kusel.

At the same time modernized U.S. Lance missiles in the arsenal of the 350th Bundeswehr rocket and artillery division deployed in Montabaur are being equipped with neutron warheads.

It was noted at the press conference that, whereas Soviet initiatives offer a truly historic chance to end the arms race, the United States and the FRG are secretely building up their nuclear aggression potential. Since Bundeswehr units too are being equipped with the neutron weapons, the full responsibility for this falls on the Bonn government.

PRAVDA REPORTS MARCHAIS INTERVIEW IN YEREVAN

PM061257 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 May 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: -- "G. Marchais Interview"]

[Text] Yerevan, 30 Apr -- French Communist Party [PCF] Secretary General Georges Marchais has granted an interview to a TASS correspondent in Yerevan.

The Soviet Union, he said, has achieved vast and impressive successes in a brief space of time. Much has been achieved, but the dialectics of life demand constant improvement and renewal. To achieve this, qualitative and quantitative changes in society are needed, that is, what is today called restructuring. During our stay in your country we have seen that restructuring is widening all the time. Multifaceted work is being done in all areas of economic building, having a deep effect on all Soviet society. Communists and all progressive forces in France are following the revolutionary transformations in the USSR with great attention and interest and express confidence that Soviet people will honorably attain the projected goal.

I want to say, Georges Marchais said, that French Communists are expressing complete solidarity with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. The refinement of socialism and socialist democracy, the current dynamism of Soviet society, the movement in the direction of greater openness, and the transformations in the economic mechanism have aroused French people's interests in and sympathy toward your country. Capitalism is going through a deep and protracted crisis at the moment. At the same time, the Soviet Union, on the basis of the enormous potential of socialism, is marching boldly along the path of renewal, sweeping away all that is obsolete in society's socioeconomic life.

Concerning the new political thinking on international issues, in particular the problems of disarmament and elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe, Georges Marchais stressed that French Communists fully support the recent proposals put forward by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev and advocate the cessation of nuclear tests, the elimination of chemical weapons, the nonmilitarization of space, the reduction of military expenditure, and France's active participation in disarmament talks. While the USSR tries to reach an accord on the reduction of nuclear arsenals in Europe and do away with the problem of the nuclear menace, French National Assembly deputies, except for communist parliamentarians, have unscrupulously voted for an increase in the country's military might, including the commencement of the production of chemical weapons. The new law on military programs for 1987-91 envisages a budget of Fr474 billion. Communists are against the rearmament policy and are demanding that the French Government make a real contribution to balanced nuclear disarmament and help to eliminate all nuclear forces by the year 2000 and thereby remove the danger of a nuclear apocalypse.

Talking about relations between the PCF and the CPSU, the PCF leader called them close and fruitful, adding that they will continue to steadily develop and grow in the future.

PAPER ASSAILS FRENCH STRATEGIC BUILDUP PLANS

PM061015 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Apr 87 First Edition p 3

[Colonel L. Levadov article: "Course of 'Nuclear Deterrence'; France's Military Program"]

[Text] The French National Assembly has approved the latest 5-year plan for developing the country's armed forces. The wide-ranging program worked out by the J. Chirac government for building up French nuclear, chemical, and conventional arms is typified first and foremost by its unprecedented scale. Totaling Fr474 billion -- a record for the entire postwar period -- spending on equipping the army, air force, and navy in 1987-91 is planned to increase by 6-11 percent per year. As a result, spending will rise by more than 50 percent over the 5 years, which is an absolute record for all the NATO countries, including the United States.

The new military program is the logical continuation of the political course proclaimed by the government of right-wing parties immediately after it came to power in March 1986. In his first speeches Prime Minister J. Chirac stated that "nuclear deterrence" remains the "cornerstone of the national security system," and that the quantity and quality of conventional arms must ensure that the French Army can "intervene effectively" in Central Europe.

Even today, when an active struggle has been launched worldwide to eradicate the nuclear threat and to build a nuclear-free and nonviolent world, the French ruling circles continue to demonstrate their blind adherence to the notorious "deterrence and containment" doctrine. [paragraph continues]

As if there had been no Soviet program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, no proposals from the Warsaw Pact states on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, and no Soviet proposals to eliminate medium- and shorter-range missiles in Europe. In this regard one cannot fail to concur with the French communist newspaper L'HUMANITE, which called the new military program a throwback to cold war times.

One is struck by the stubborn reluctance to back away even slightly from the stereotyped thinking that has prevailed for many years. "There are no grounds for supposing that the military threat hanging over us will undergo quantitative or qualitative changes in the future which would force France to substantially change the scale of the strategic nuclear defense it needs," we read in the text of the law on the new military program. And Fr152 billion are being allocated to develop national nuclear forces in support of this "argument."

It is planned to channel a large part of those funds into modernizing nuclear submarines -- the main component of the French nuclear "triad." By 1992 it is planned to complete the program for rearming the "Redoutable"-class SSBN's with M4 ballistic missiles equipped with MIRVed warheads. If the French nuclear fleet is maintained at the existing level (six submarines), this move alone will ensure that its capability in terms of the number of nuclear charges that could be launched at once will increase by 170 percent (from 176 to 496), while its capability in terms of maximum strike range will almost double (from 3,200 to 6,000 km). At the same time, it is planned to start building new-generation SSBN's equipped with M5 MIRVed missiles.

In the coming 5-year period it is planned to further develop air- and ground-launched nuclear means. it is planned to equip French Air Force and Navy aircraft -- Mirage IV strategic bombers, Mirage 2000 fighter-bombers, and carrier-borne Super Etendard attack aircraft -- with ASMP nuclear cruise missiles with a range of up to 350 km.

The plan for developing ground forces outlines the development [razrabotka] of S4 mobile strategic missile complexes, which will eventually replace the S3 missiles stored in 18 silo launch installations on the Albion Plateau in southern France. Series production of new Hades operational and tactical missiles with a range of up to 350 km will begin in the next few years.

Thus, in 5 years time, along with notable improvements in range and accuracy, the French strategic nuclear forces and the total number of charges that they can put aloft in one launch (sortie) will reach 532 and, as Western military specialists see it, could exceed 700 by the year 2000.

Is that a lot or a little? Judge for yourselves. In 1980, when the French strategic nuclear forces hardly numbered 100 warheads, Paris LE MONDE published specialist estimates suggesting that these means could wipe out 20 million inhabitants of the Soviet Union's largest cities, not to mention the many millions who would be wounded or crippled. We recall that France, like the United States and Britain, stubbornly refuses to commit itself to non-first use of nuclear weapons, has hitherto failed to join the Nonproliferation Treaty, and takes a negative attitude to the question of the complete ending of nuclear tests. From this angle the program for further building up French military might, and primarily its nuclear forces, becomes understandable.

Probably the most sensational section of the new French military program is the plan to build up chemical arms, to which Fr700 million have been allocated. [paragraph continues]

According to LE MATIN, what is striking is not so much the official admission of the existence of stockpiles of such weapons in the country and of an industrial base for their production, as the timing of the release of this report to the public. Indeed, the French decision on chemical arms upgrading was taken 2 weeks after the Warsaw Pact states published their statement calling on the NATO countries to "embark in the very near future on the total and universal elimination of chemical weapons and the industrial base for their production."

The military 5-year plan devotes great attention to the program for the development of conventional arms with a view to creating by the year 2000 an army whose might, in the words of defense Minister A. Giraud, will depend not on numbers but first and foremost on strike capability, firepower, and the provision of electronic, infrared, and laser equipment, automation, and computers. And they are gambling on developing highly accurate strike means and on bringing the tactical and technical characteristics of weapons and military hardware more closely into line with accepted NATO standards. The total cost of the conventional weapons and military hardware for the ground forces, air force, and navy and the work on future models will cost more than Fr312 billion. Within the vast program for building up French Conventional Forces people in the West are spotlighting several projects which, in the opinion of military specialists, are of fundamental importance. These are primarily the Leclerc tank, the Rafale combat aircraft, the AWACS long-range early-warning system, and the nuclear aircraft carrier Richelieu.

Conceived as a fighting machine for the 21st century, the Leclerc, unlike all previous French models, will have virtually identical tactical and technical characteristics to the U.S. Abrams and West German Leopard tanks. This approach is conditioned by the revised concept in recent years of the use of French troops in NATO operations in Central Europe. Whereas previously the 1st Army was seen mainly as a reserve for the commander in chief of the bloc's forces in the military theater, now, as the experience of exercises has shown, its army corps could operate together with the allies in "forward positions" -- that is, in the first echelon of the NATO strike grouping aimed against the GDR and the CSSR. These questions will be developed in the joint West German and French "Kecker Spatz" exercise scheduled for this September.

The planned purchases of three U.S. AWACS-SYSTEM aircraft are the main component in France's de facto integration into the NATO military organization. After all, it is these NATO aircraft that constantly carry out airborne radar intelligence-gathering missions against the socialist community countries' territories.

In the next 5 years it is planned to carry out the bulk of the work on building and to launch the first French nuclear aircraft carrier -- the Richelieu. It is also planned to build a second ship of this class. The creation of a French nuclear strike fleet attests to the firm intention of the country's military-political leadership to maintain France's ability to defend its neocolonialist aspirations in all corners of the globe.

To a considerable extent the steps being taken to improve the training of the French Rapid Development Force -- which already comprises five divisions -- have the same aim. Around 100 military transports and the necessary naval transport will be put on constant combat standby in order to ensure their rapid transfer to any region where the interests of French monopolies or their allies are affected.

Thus, the new French military program convincingly attests that, despite the statements by its official spokesmen about its desire for peace and universal security, France's priorities lie not in the disarmament area but in the area of building up its own military potential and increasing the role of nuclear forces in that potential. The country's ruling circles are thereby demonstrating their adherence to obsolete, stereotyped political thinking and their stubborn desire to build national security on the path of the arms race alone. Hence the restrained position adopted by the French Government with regard to the Soviet proposals on nuclear and conventional arms reductions in Europe.

It is time for those who determine France's political course to realize that the arms race will not lead to a strengthening of stability and security but to a universal tragedy. That is why the question of the need to smash the nuclear guillotine and stop detaching politics from common human norms of morality is raised more acutely than ever today. It is time to heed the voice of the peoples, including the French people themselves, who resolutely reject the prospect of nuclear incineration or chemical poisoning. And this must be done forthwith, right now -- because tomorrow could be too late.

PRAVDA DECRIES FRENCH EFFORT TO 'DELAY' INF SOLUTION

PM071017 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 May 87 Second Edition p 4

[Correspondent V. Bolshakov report: "Maneuvering In A Nuclear Impasse"]

[Text] Paris -- The latest Soviet proposals on eliminating nuclear missiles in Europe have been greeted with official silence in Paris. These has been no reaction to them from the Elysee Palace (the president's residence), the Hotel Matignon (the Prime Minister's residence), or the French Foreigh Ministry, even after the French delegation's return from Brussels where G. Shultz had been reporting to America's NATO allies on his Moscow talks.

This silence speaks volumes. LE MONDE writes: "Paris is plunged into confusion."

Here is the reason for this "confusion." In March President Mitterrand, commenting on the "zero option," which envisages the elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe, stated: "There is a serious imbalance in shorter-range missiles -- between 100 and 1,000 km -- in Europe in the Soviet Union's favor. This imbalance must be rectified." Now, after M.S. Gorbachev's proposal to G. Shultz that short-range missiles be eliminated, too, Yves Moreau writes in L'HUNANITE, the President has fallen silent. Did this proposal to rectify the imbalance, about which he himself had spoken, not sound convincing?

Indeed, what is now preventing France from supporting those proposals for which its leaders themselves have campaigned? Even if they do not support them openly, they should at least try not to slow down their implementation.

France's leaders, LIBERATION writes, greeted the new Soviet proposals on the elimination of nuclear missiles in Europe "in a highly restrained if not overtly hostile way." French Prime Minister J. Chirac confirmed this in characteristic fashion during his recent talks in London with M. Thatcher. He stated bluntly that France has no intention of abandoning its nuclear weapons and is going to develop its cooperation with Britain in the sphere of arms improvement.

F. Fillon, representative of the ruling Rally for the Republic and chairman of the National Assembly Defense Commission, gave the following explanation in an interview with Radio Luxembourg and Radio Europe: "What we feared has happened. When an agreement on Euromissiles is signed the issue of the French and British nuclear forces immediately arises." And even though there is no agreement as yet, the right-wing LE FIGARO has already announced that "Western Europe is left at the USSR's mercy' and M. Tatu, writing in LE MONDE, has even spoken about "collusion between the two superpowers."

The journalist B. Brigouleix, who is very well informed on the French capital's political ways, writes in LE MONDE, citing a figure "close to the president," that the Elysee seems to be responding to these "fears" with an Olympian calm. The belief is that the discussion now centers only on Soviet-U.S.Talks and Soviet and U.S. weapons in Europe. France, you must understand, can go on remaining aloof from all this.

So why have the Paris opponents of detente become so active now? In particular, they assert with particular stubbornness, as through trying to state the obvious, that USSR-U.S. talks on this score "do not affect France."

The USSR and U.S. positions on this score are identical -- that without French and British consent, their existing nuclear forces will not be taken into account in talks or in the conclusion of Soviet-U.S. agreements. This guarantee was given to France and Britain on the assumption that their strategic nuclear forces were not so great that the discussion of their reduction needed to begin until the USSR and U.S. nuclear arsenals are considerably reduced. The attitude of Paris and London on this score is understandable. What is not understandable is why specifically even the remote prospect of such a discussion is pperceived in France almost as setting the date of Judgment Day?

The present "confusion," or rather turmoil in Paris has clearly been caused by this prospect. The new Soviet initiatives put forward in Prague and Moscow clearly bring closer that time when nuclear disarmament in Europe will be impossible without involving France and Britain. After all, this is a question of the elimination in Europe of a whole class of nuclear missile armaments. Reduction to zero! It is thus somewhat hard to understand statements like "this does not affect France!"

Furthermore, it is clearly no coincidence that the Paris leadership itself is "hinting" via the press that it would like to receive from the Soviet Union right now not only confirmation of the view that "the French nuclear deterrent forces are not subject to discussion" but also the recognition that the French "prestrategic" nuclear weapons are an "integral part of the central system," that is of those selfsame "deterrent forces." Essentially this is a veiled demand that the French operational and tactical missiles with nuclear warheads be overlooked. Are those the only missiles they have in mind?

According to figures in LE MATIN on 14 April, France possesses 132 single warhead [odnozaryadnaya] missiles with a range of around 5,000 km. They are also part of the "deterrent forces," which are currently not subject to discussion. Furthermore, France has operational and tactical missiles capable of delivering nuclear warheads (over a range of 400 km to 1,000 km). These include its 40 Pluton missiles and air-to-surface missiles. Finally, there are the aircraft suitable for use as nuclear bombers and the long-range weapons which are quite capable of firing atomic, including "neutron," shells.

If the official version is to be believed, this entire impressive arsenal has been created exclusively as "a means of defending the weak," that is, France, against the "strong." The name of the "strong" is not openly stated: Instead De Gaulle's concept of "omnidirectional defense" is cited as a cover, but when any mention of the "threat to French security" is made people have no qualms about pointing to the East.

Is there not a paradox here? At the very time when the two "strong" countries are seriously approaching the matter of radically reducing their own nuclear armaments in Europe, France had decided to rapidly build up its own arsenal. Parliament has passed the government's "unprecedented" 5-year military program, which will cost Fr474 billion.

The result of its implementation will be to increase the number of strategic nuclear warheads more than fourfold -- from 132 to almost 600. Hades tactical missiles and neutron weapons will also be adopted. Not to mention a new aircraft carrier, tanks, guns, and aircraft. In addition, as has been noted, France will also receive new types of chemical armaments, which will also count among the "deterrent forces."

It is clear that, since the right-wing government came to power in March last year, Paris has set out to abandon De Gaulle's concept of "deterrence" and has been moving toward the use of mass destruction weapons as an instrument of its policy.

A concrete manifestation of this is the idea of the "organization of a military Europe" within the WEU. Official Paris is campaigning so zealously for the cobbling together of this "NATO subsidiary" under its own aegis that the U.S. ambassador to France approvingly called it the "power behind" that subsidiary. "What disgrace for France to hear praise of this kind!" Was the comment of G. Marchais, secretary general of the French Communist Party and leader of the only political party in France to courageously oppose the arms race advocates.

However, Paris clearly does not want to acknowledge its own intentions and is trying to hide behind references to a "national consensus" in favor of the arms race. But does such a consensus actually exist?

First, the French Communist Party voted in parliament against the "5-year armaments plan" for 1987-91. Second, according to public opinion polls, 85 percent of French people believe that now, when talks are being conducted between the USSR and the United States, their country should make an active contribution to the disarmament cause. And 79 percent of the population are opposed to the idea of France's increasing its own nuclear arsenal in the event of a USSR-U.S. agreement being reached on medium-range missiles.

Paris is now strenuously trying to convince its allies that a response to the Soviet proposals "is to be expected imminently," as LIBERATION said. That was the point of the Frech delegation's maneuvers at the recent session of the WEU countries' foreign and defense ministers. That was why French Foreign Minister J.-B. Raimond went to Washington recently. And that, in particular, was what was under discussion at J. Chirac's recent meeting with H. Kohl.

The tactics of French diplomacy are quite transparent -- they are to delay as long as possible the solution of the question of "Euromissiles" and other nuclear arms in Europe.

One would like to think that Paris will cast off the shackles of outmoded thinking and understand the disputable truth that even the mightiest nuclear missiles arsenals cannot ensure real security in our age.

FINLAND'S HOLKERI HOLDS NEWS CONFERENCE

LD301743 Moscow TASS in English 1627 GMT 30 Apr 87

[Text] Helsinki April 30 TASS -- The Finnish Government in its activities will be guided by the desire for securing peace and promoting the process of disarmament, new Finnish Prime Minister Harri Holkeri told a press conference here today.

The government will give special attention to the development of goodneighbourly relations with the Soviet Union and the Nordic countries. In foreign trade, he said, much attention in the government policy will be paid to the development of economic cooperation with the USSR and other European countries.

PRAVDA NOTES FORMATION OF NEW FINNISH GOVERNMENT

PM061153 Mosow PRAVDA in Russian 1 May 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "New Finnish Government"]

[Text] An official announcement has been made here on the formation of a new Finnish government following the parliamentary elections held 15-16 March.

The government includes representatives of the National Coalition Party, the Finnish Social Democratic Party, the Swedish People's Party, and the Finnish Rural Party, which won a total of 131 out of the 200 seats in parliament.

The prime minister will be Harri Holkeri, a prominent figure in the National Coalition party, and the deputy prime minister and foreign minister will be Kalevi Sorsa, chairman of the Finnish Social Democratic Party.

The government will be sworn in today.

SOVIET DISSIDENT KHODOROVICH ARRIVES IN FRANCE

AU021420 Paris AFP in English 1416 GMT 2 May 87

[Text] Paris, May 2 (AFP) -- Soviet dissident Sergey Khodorovich, a former official for the Solzhenitsyn Fund for Political Prisoners in the Soviet Union, arrived here this week, six weeks after his release from a Siberian prison camp, reliable sources said here on Saturday.

Mr. Khodorovich, 47, arrived with his wife Tatiana and the couple intends to settle in France, the sources said. He had been in prison camp since 1983 for "anti-Soviet propaganda."

His release had been announced on March 17. Mr. Khodorovich later said in Moscow that he had been released on condition that he emigrate.

RYZHKOV RECEIVES LIBYA'S AL-TALHI 5 MAY

PM061145 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 May 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Conversation in Kremlin"]

[Text] On 5 May, N.I. Ryzhkov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received in the Kremlin Jadallah 'Azzuz al-Talhi, secretary of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison (foreign minister) [title as published] of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, who is heading the Libyan delegation at the talks on questions of Soviet-Libyan cooperation.

J.'A. al-Talhi conveyed a personal message from M. al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. N.I. Ryzhkov expressed the Soviet Union's solidarity with the Libyan people, who are defending their country's freedom and independence in a situation of unceasing pressure from imperialist forces. The readiness was expressed to develop friendly Soviet-Libyan relations and cooperation in various areas on the basis of mutual respect, equality, and mutual advantage.

J.'A. al-Talhi was told about the work of restructuring being carried out in all spheres of life in the USSR and its significance for the country's socioeconomic development and the strengthening of the USSR's international positions. He was also informed about the Soviet state's efforts to avert the nuclear threat, create an all-embracing system of international security, and eliminate the danger of regional conflicts.

On the Libyan leadership's behalf, J.'A. al-Talhi expressed sincere gratitude for the Soviet Union's principled position toward Libya. He highly rated the Soviet Union's peace-loving policy and the package of proposals it has put forward which meet the vital interests of the peoples of all countries and are intended to confirm in international relations the principles of a nonnuclear and nonviolent world.

The secretary of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison reported on Libya's stance on current international questions, highlighting in particular the situation on Libya's southern border resulting from the foreign intervention in Chad.

During the conversation there was a discussion of questions connected with the implementation of the Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic, Scientific, Technical, and Trade Cooperation between the USSR and Libya. J.'A. al-Talhi stressed that this program, signed by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and M. al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, was a significant landmark in the development of friendly relations between the two countries. Special attention was paid to the practical steps that can be taken by both sides to broaden mutually beneficial ties and ensure their continued dynamic development.

The conversation was held in an atmosphere of the traditional friendship characteristic of Soviet-Libyan relations and in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere. Taking part in it for the Soviet side were: K.F. Katushev, chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister; P.S. Akopov, USSR ambassador to Libya; and V.P. Polyakov, member of the USSR Foreign Ministry Collegium; and for the Libyan side: F. al-Shakshuki, secretary (minister) for questions of the Libyan State Service [title as published]; D.A. Sudaydan, member of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison (deputy foreign minister); A. Atrash, director of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison Department of Economic and Technical Cooperation; and M.Kh. Sha'ban, secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau (ambassador) in the USSR.

'GOOD OMEN' SEEN IN RECENT MIDDLE EAST EVENTS

PM061441 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 May 87 Morning Edition pp 4, 5

[Konstantin Geyvandov "Political Observer's Opinion": "How Will Washington Respond?"]

[Text] The Middle East, unfortunately, has never lacked events that have gone on to become the object of the world public's constant concern for years, sometimes even for decades. All the more reason, I believe, for viewing as a good omen the events taking place in the Palestinian arena in the last month. I refer to the meetings in Algiers of representatives of various Palestian resistance movement organizations, which subsequently convened a session of the Palestine National Council at which a program for restoring the PLO's unity was worked out.

It goes without saying that the prime beneficiary of the restoration of the PLO's unity and cohesion will be the Palestinian Arab people's struggle for their inalienable national rights and also the prospects for a general Middle East settlement, whose core is the Palestinian problem. The Algiers program rejects the so-called Camp David "peace" process, which the United States and Israel are using to try to impose capitulatory separate deals on the Arab peoples. It is acknowledged that the only correct way to achieve an all-embracing and just solution of the Middle East conflict is by collective efforts, which should be made at a special international conference.

This outcome must be regarded at the same time as the failure of the U.S. -Israeli allies' greatest military adventure in this region. Or, at least, of its Palestinian aspect. I have in mind here the aggression unleashed against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples in June 1982. One of its main tasks was to eliminate the PLO as a military and political force, to compel Jordan to conclude a separate deal with Israel and hereby remove the Palestinian problem from the agenda, and in general to proclaim the "Arab-Israeli conflict "resolved."

The results of the talks held in Moscow between Soviet and Syrian leaders will also be an important contribution to organizing the Middle East peace process. "An all-embracing and lasting peace in the Middle East," the Soviet-Syrian joint statement says, "can only be established on the basis of the withdrawal of Israel's forces from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967 and of the implementation of the Palestinian Arab people's legitimate national rights, including their right to self-determination, to create their own independent state, and to return to their homes in accordance with UN decisions." It goes on to say: "An all-embracing and just settlement in the Middle East can only be achieved by collective efforts. There is one main path to that goal -- to convene a full and plenipotentiary international conference under UN auspices with the participation of all the sides directly interested."

Syria is one of the sides directly involved in the Middle East conflict and its readiness for a political settlement is a sign of good will. A significant section of the international community of states, including Arab states, is not advocating the earliest convening of a peace conference. During recent visits to the region I saw for myself that this idea is actively supported by Jordan, the PDRY, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, and others. Clearly, the time has come to begin thorough and painstaking preparatory work and a practical step in this direction could be to carry out the proposal to establish a special committee including all the permanent members of the UN Security Council for that purpose. It has won the support of the UN General Assembly, the eight nonaligned conference, and the IOC [Islamic Conference Organization] conference in Kuwait.

How will Washington respond? With another escalation of aggression and new military adventures? It is no secret that the United States regards the Middle East as a test ground for modeling its imperial policy. Further analysis of the U.S. Administration's global activity leaves no doubt that in general Washington uses regional conflicts to manipulate the level of tension and confrontation.

In the Middle East, the U.S. Administration has also found itself a convenient stooge in the form of the Israeli leadership. The latter, which still clings to a futile policy, is trying to build its country's security by intimidating its neighbors and by using any means, even state terrorism. All visible signs indicate that the Israeli military even now is preparing for more military adventures. Major General G. Hagglund, UNIFIL [United Nations Interim Forces in Lebanon] commander, warns that an "abnormal situation" has occurred in the south of the country and he does not rule out the possibility that Tel Aviv will conduct a large-scale military action north of the so-called security zone in the near future.

However, I must make the proviso that, judging by what I heard when I visited Israel recently, many people there understand that their rulers' policy is flawed and shortsighted. A certain proportion of the Israelis, like other people, can see that there is another, correct and reliable means of guaranteeing a secure future for the Israeli state. That is by a just peace and, ultimately, good-neighborly relations with the Arab peoples, who number almost 200 million people.

The history of the development of the Middle East crisis proves quite convincingly that the gamble on military strength to settle the conflict is totally discredited. The time limit for regional conflicts is running out and new military outbursts would threaten the gravest consequences both for the peoples of the region and for the world as a whole. That is why responsible leaders are expected to provide responsible decisions. A real opportunity has now appeared to tackle the cause of peace in the Middle East in earnest and it must not be missed.

NEW USSR AMBASSADOR TO SUDAN PROFILED

LD060908 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0458 GMT 6 May 87

[Text] Moscow, 6 May (TASS) -- The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Valeriy Sukhin as USSR ambassador to the Republic of the Sudan.

Valeriy Sukhin was born in 1941. He has higher education and is a Candidate of Historical Sciences. He has been in the Diplomatic Service since 1969 and has occupied a number of senior posts in the USSR Foreign Ministry central apparatus and abroad. In 1971-73 he was advisor to the USSR Embassy in the United Arab Republic, in 1973-75 advisor to the USSR Embassy in the Yemen Arab Republic, and in 1978-81 advisor to the USSR Embassy in the Syrian Arab Republic.

Yevgeniy Musiyko has been released from his duties as USSR ambassador to the Republic of the Sudan in connection with his retirement on pension.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON VISIT OF MEXICO'S SEPULVEDA

Meets With Gromyko

LD041514 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1415 GMT 4 May 87

[Text] Moscow, 4 May (TASS) -- Andrey Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, received today in the Kremlin Bernardo Sepulveda Amor, secretary of foreign relations of the United Mexican States, who is in the Soviet Union for an official visit.

Problems connected with contributions by both states to the cause of strengthening peace and bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and Mexico were the key topics of conversation.

For more than a decade, A.A. Gromyko stressed, these relations have developed in a constructive direction, have been filled with concrete content, and have demonstrated a good example to many other states. The links between the two countries show that countries with different social systems can successfully cooperate both bilaterally and on issues of an international nature. One must repeat the idea of the possibility of cooperation between states with different social systems thousands of times, if necessary. This concept, one of the most weighty principles of international cooperation, was inscribed in revolutionary Petrograd in Soviet foreign policy as long ago as the time of Lenin's first decrees.

From the Soviet side a high degree of appreciation was voiced for Mexico's efforts, along with the other countries of the "Delhi Six" -- Argentina, Greece, India, Tanzania, and Sweden -- in advocating the elimination of the nuclear threat and opposing the spread of the arms race into space. Each meeting of the leaders of the "Delhi Six" countries forms a new step in mankind's struggle against the nuclear threat and leaves its mark on modern history. It need not be doubted that the next meeting, scheduled for June this year in Stockholm, will do likewise.

Mexico has also been making noble efforts, along with other participants in the Contadora process, to achieve a just political settlement in Central America. Specifically, this concerns Nicaragua. The people of Nicaragua, indeed all the peoples of the area, are thirsting for peace, and reject the claims of any state or group of states that views the countries of Central American as their own back yard.

A.A. Gromyko took pleasure in noting Mexico's growing role in world affairs. The Soviet Union has always favored Latin American countries expressing their weighty word in favor of peace, and continues to do so. Soviet people wish them only successes in this regard, and offer them the hand of friendship.

B. Sepulveda, on behalf of the Mexican Government, positively assessed the Soviet peace initiatives expounded in the statements by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, evaluating the Soviet Union's approach to international affairs as innovative and effective.

Both sides were unanimous in their evaluation that the development of contacts between parliaments, public organizations, and politicians of various states are of great importance for improving the political climate in the world. The Soviet Union and Mexico have a lot of experience in this regard and express their readiness to enrich it.

The eminent visitor handed a message to Gromyko from Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, president of the United Mexican States. The letter contained a positive assessment of the good level of relations between the two states, and the deep friendship between them and confirmed Mexico's intention to expand and strengthen links with the Soviet Union.

In conclusion, A.A. Gromyko asked that gratitude be conveyed to President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado for the desire of the Mexican Government to continue to develop a fruitful dialogue with the Soviet leadership.

B. Sepulveda, on behalf of the people and leadership of Mexico, conveyed to the Soviet people and leadership of the country congratulations on the 42d anniversary of the great victory over fascism, in which, the minister said, the Soviet Union had played an outstanding role.

A.A. Gromyko highly valued these kind words addressed to our country and noted that in that war the Soviet Union had defended not merely its own freedom and independence but the future of all peoples as well.

Present at the conversation were, on the Soviet side, V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and R.A. Sergeyev, USSR ambassador in Mexico; and on the Mexican side, Horacio Flores de la Pena, Mexico's ambassador in the USSR.

Views Issues With Shevardnadze

LD051807 Moscow TASS in English 1648 GMT 5 May 87

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS -- Talks began in Moscow today between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and Bernardo Sepulveda, Mexican minister of foreign affairs, who had arrived in the Soviet Union for an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Topical issues of our time were discussed in a friendly atmosphere.

It was pointed out that the Soviet Union and Mexico, adhering to identical or close positions on the most important international issues, consistently come out in favour of strengthening peace, curbing the nuclear arms race, and achieving disarmament and just political solutions to crisis situations, and are for strict observance of the universally recognised norms of international law.

When informing Bernardo Sepulveda of the in-depth reorganisation which has got under way in all spheres of life in the Soviet Union and of the work aimed at accelerating the country's socio-economic development, Eduard Shevardnadze drew his attention to the objective connection between the upgrading of socialist society and the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

Eduard Shevardnadze explained in detail the Soviet concept of a nuclear-free world and of the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security, and emphasised that complete elimination of nuclear arsenals under the conditions of non-militarised outer space would become a stable foundation for a radical improvement of the situation in the world.

He specially touched upon the new Soviet initiative concerning the elimination of all medium- and shorter-range missiles in Europe.

Bernardo Sepulveda pointed out that the Soviet Union's specific realistic proposals aimed at removing the nuclear threat, and the USSR's practical actions in this direction were welcomed by Mexico and were consonant with its stand and with the objectives of the six countries' initiative in favour of peace and disarmament, with Mexico playing an active role among them.

The sides emphasised that ensuring a guaranteed peace requires joint efforts of all those who are interested in the preservation of human civilisation.

People should get rid of all types of weapons of mass destruction, of which nuclear ones are the most barbarous, within a historically short period of time.

The untenability and unacceptability of the notorious nuclear deterrence concept and its particular danger were pointed out.

The two foreign ministers specially pointed out the need for absolute observance of all the existing international agreements which limit the arms race, and for action in favour of reaching new effective accords on that score, and declared for the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes.

The Soviet side gave a high appraisal of Mexico's activities in the international arena and of its contribution to the cause of reducing international tension and giving greater scope to efforts for nuclear disarmament.

The talks which were held in a constructive and frank [Moscow TASS Russian version reads otkrovennoy] atmosphere will be continued.

Attends Luncheon

LD051946 Moscow TASS in English 1913 GMT 5 May 87

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS — Today Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, gave a luncheon in honour of his Mexican counterpart, Bernardo Sepulveda.

Addressing the guest, Eduard Shevardnadze said:

"We were gratified to state today that both the Soviet Union and Mexico firmly abide by the lofty goals and the central task of our times which Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Miguel de la Madrid of Mexico refer to in their personal messages to each other."

"I recall," Eduard Shevardnadze said, "The words which you, Mr Minister, said in Mexico City last year to the effect that the nuclear age has brought up the universal security issue with particular urgency, and that therefore actions against the nuclear threat should be universal, too, and responsibility should be collective."

"Thus, until recently, the very democratisation of international life was an urgent problem of the times, whereas now the world democratic community by an absolute majority of votes already tackles in practice the issue of a nuclear-free future. This has been promoted in many respects by the activities of Mexico, individually and among the six states, the Contadora Group, as well as the Non-aligned Movement."

"As long as nuclear weapons remain in existence if only in one or several places, and as long as nuclear arms build-up, testing and upgrading are continued there, all decisions can only diminsh but not remove fully the risk of a disaster," the minister of foreign affairs of the USSR stated.

"I think," he said, "that we are struck in an equally unpleasant way by the metamorphoses of the conduct and abrupt turns in the thinking of some European political figures. At first, there were calls and requests for the removal of missiles from the continent. Then, there was vagueness in pronouncements, and, finally, they proclaimed the doctrine of nuclear deterrence to be the only pillar of peace and security."

"We emphasise our closeness to Mexico's foreign policy tradition which widely manifests itself in the moral support for the victims of oppression and aggression, and for all those who defend their right to an independent choice of the way of development without any interference from the outside," Eduard Shevardnadze said.

"Respecting the existing political realities of Latin America and its traditional international contacts, including those with the United States, we do not seek to encroach upon anyone's legitimate interests in the region."

"The Soviet Union views Latin American countries as equal partners. We want the peaceableness and adherence to international law -- these traditional features of the political countenance of Latin America -- To become increasingly determinant in world affairs."

"I think there is ground to be gratified by the way in which the USSR's and Mexico's bilateral relations take shape. But it is essential to go farther and to look for ways to secure that the potential of mutual trust and sympathies of our people is embodied in new practical deeds."

The minister of foreign affairs of the USSR spoke in favour of strengthening Soviet-Mexican friendship. He wished peace, happiness and prosperity to the Mexican people.

In a reply speech, Bernardo Sepulveda voiced the conviction that the meeting would promote the development of fine and already long-standing diplomatic relations between the two countries.

"Despite the difference of political and economic systems," he said, "we often adhere to similar positions at international forums. When our viewpoints on some or other international issues and situations did not coincide by virtue of the difference of national interests or approaches to world affairs, mutual respect always prevailed."

"We in Mexico follow with interest the initiative proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which reflect the will of the Union of Soviet republics to effect transformations in the name of progress, to strengthen and refine patterns, machinery and methods with a view to accelerating all-round development. We wish you successes in the accomplishment of this task in the hope that this will become an effective contribution to international cooperation in the interest of peace and wider economic, scientific and technical exchanges with the developing countries."

The Mexican minister of foreign affairs pointed out that there were problems connected with the ensurance of peace and universal security on earth and which equally affected all countries irrespective of their ideologies or political systems.

"Among these are nuclear disarmament, the protection of natural resources and the environment as a whole, peaceful exploration of outer space, rational utilisation of marine resources, technological revolution, and proper uses of newly-acquired knowledge by all peoples".

"The scope of these problems is vast. The participation of all countries is needed to solve them. In this cause there cannot be big or small countries. The threat to the survival of mankind affects everyone. The struggle for peace undoubtedly constitutes the basis for merging our approaches in a bilateral dialogue. We in Mexico recognise the need to revive the expectations of detente and mutual understanding which appeared as a result of the Helsinki conference and were lost after endeavours to achieve superiority and confrontation came to predominate".

"Big efforts are now needed for the hopes raised by the process started in Reykjavik not to be deceived and for the spirit of genuine mutual understanding to become established in Geneva, which meets the desires of peace-loving peoples."

"The Government of Mexico follows with particular attention the Soviet Union's various proposals aimed at stimulating talks in the field of disarmament. It believes that the initiatives will favour reduction and elimination of shorter- and medium-range missiles as well as of other types of weapons of mass destruction. This could open the way for the conduct of so essential talks on conventional arms which also pose a threat to international security."

"The Mexican Government expects the advancement of initiatives being proposed by a number of European countries, getting inspired by the example of the Tlatelolco treaty, with a view to establishing new nuclear-free zones. We value support which the Soviet Union can render to these efforts which are aimed at establishing an atmosphere of confidence and concord in the world."

"We can be gratified in view of the fact that the Soviet Union's and Mexico's bilateral relations have achieved a fine level," the guest said.

The luncheon was held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Discusses Trade Issues

LD060043 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2115 GMT 5 May 87

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] On 5 May, Comrade Kamentsev, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, received Bernardo Sepulveda, Mexican minister of foreign affairs, who is in our country on an official visit. A broad range of issues concerning the further development of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries was examined. The conversation took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Continues Shevardnadze Talks

LD061212 Moscow TASS in English 1112 GMT 6 May 87

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS -- Talks on topical international problems were continued today between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and Bernardo Sepulveda, minister of foreign affairs of Mexico.

During the discussion of regional problems special attention was devoted to the situation in Central America. Both sides went on record in favour of the settlement of the problems of that region by political methods and them alone. They pointed out the unique significance of the Contadora Process of peaceful settlement and the important role that Mexico was playing in it.

The foreign ministers examined problems connected with Soviet-Mexican relations and prospects of their development. They expressed satisfaction over the steady expansion of ties between the USSR and Mexico. They reiterated their mutual interest in their further development in the political, trade, economic and cultural spheres and spoke in favour of an active quest for new forms and opportunities of the consolidation of mutually advantageous cooperation.

A text of a joint Soviet-Mexican communique was coordinated on the results of the visit to the USSR of Bernardo Sepulveda, minister of foreign affairs of Mexico. It will be published by the mass media.

Meets With Gorbachev

LD061917 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 6 May 87

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS -- Mikhail Gorbachev received in the Kremlin today Mexican Foreign Minister Bernardo Sepulveda.

In greeting the visitor, Gorbachev said that this trip was more than the confirmation of the regularity of Soviet-Mexican relations. "We treasure their development and want them to improve further."

Taking into account the fact that specific issues were discussed by Sepulveda and Eduard Shevardnadze during their four meetings on these days, Gorbachev suggested exchanging views on conceptual problems of international and bilateral relations.

"It seems to us," he observed, "that we have offered the world not a time-serving concept, not an egoistic programme of action but a long-term and rational policy inviting all to look for a way toward normal international relations based on new mentality.

We have already received some lessons in the school of implementing this new way of thinking and have accumulated certain experience."

In the past two years we have met leaders and other officials from Western Europe, Asia and America, from developed and developing nations and, of course, from socialist countries in the first turn. About a hundred conversation all in all.

An interesting array of views and approaches is apparent."

"Summing them up, one can say that there is understanding of the complexity of the situation. There is concern over the threat of nuclear war. All see that economic relations in the world are not normal and that there is immense indebtedness. The danger of regional conflicts is recognized and there is agreement that political settlement offers the only acceptable path. There is concern over the ecological situation. Some even do not argue that not everything is in order as far as the information system is concerned.

When the point at issue is how to cope with the problems and dangers, however, there is keen disagreement in discussions with Western representatives.

It turns out that although the threat of nuclear war is bad, nuclear weapons should be kept.

In economic relations between developed and developing countries, there is a trend to preserve the situation of a non-equivalent exchange in order to continue neocolonialist exploitation, and to settle regional conflicts to the detriment of the interests of the countries where they take place."

"As to the role of the mass media, 'freedom' is to be upheld, but in such a way that the monopoly in this sphere, which makes it possible to manipulate public opinion, remains in the hands of narrow groups. Herein is the root of all difficulties. They can be overcome only by way of new thinking which demands recognition of the realities and the balance of interests and the renunciation of doctrines formulated by Western leaders forty years ago. It is now impossible to build international relations only with regards for the interests of highly developed nations of the West."

"We are not in favour of offering some ultraradical methods," Gorbachev said. "For example, we do not suggest breaking historically established economic ties between the developed West and the developing South, between the United States and Latin America. But they are to be restructured in order to overcome the situation engendered by neocolonialism and enable all to dispose of their material and human resources in the interests of their own peoples."

Gorbachev fully backed his interlocutor's ideas about the need for a new world economic order. "The international community is passing through the most complicated period in its development. Responsibility and realism are required. There are two basic principles distinguishing the realistic stand -- consideration for one's own, national interests and respect for the interests of others. This is a strong, fair stand, and we shall uphold it. It does not suit only those who have not abandoned imperial ambitions and draw 'zones of vital interests,' forgetting the fact that everyone has the right to real independence and to independent foreign policy."

Sepulveda handed over to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee a personal message from President Miguel de la Madrid of Mexico.

Having read the message, Gorbachev said that he was glad to have received it. Despite the fact that the USSR and Mexico were far from each other, were on different continents and belonged to different social systems, they, it appeared, had much in common in the assessment of the present-day situation and in the views on the solution of acute problems of security, international cooperation, disarmament and development.

Gorbachev was especially satisfied to hear information about the unfolding process of consolidation in Latin America, the process that was enhancing its ability to handle on its own, Latin American way national and continental problems, problems in relations with other parts of the world and with other countries.

"We appreciate," he said, "the independence and vigour of Mexico's foreign policy. We realize that objective circumstances do not allow it to fully unfold its peaceable and progressive potential. Nevertheless, its contribution to the Latin American process, to the normalization of international relations on the whole, including within the framework of the Delhi Six and the Contadora Group, is noticeable and considerable.

It serves Mexico's national interests and demonstrates its sense of responsibility for the overall course of world events."

Gorbachev attached immense importance to the outcome of the endeavour to resolve the dangerous conflict in Central America and fully supported the efforts aimed at precluding intervention and aggression in handling problems relating to Nicaragua.

In explaining the Soviet Union's interest in Latin America and desire to maintain good relations with it, Gorbachev denounced the attempts to impose the distorted view that the USSR wanted to stage there a series of "socialist revolutions." Such claims, he said, are "at odds with what we really are doing. This runs counter to our theory, our principles, the new mode of thinking and the entire foreign policy concept to which we adhere."

The world was complex and diverse, Gorbachev said, summing up the discussion. "But this diversity, after all, is not a fault, but a positive factor.

Let everyone prove that his choice is better, and if he wants and can, let him take into account the experience of others. The more so for this is becoming ever more necessary since the world's inter-dependence is growing."

As far as Soviet-Mexican relations were concerned, they were, as Sepulveda observed, really mature. They rested on respect for each other. This was one of the basic principles of their lengthy development that produced a big tree of tradition which called, however, for constant attention and good care.

Before saying good-bye to the visitor, Gorbachev expressed support for the broadest and most diverse cooperation in all directions of Soviet-Mexican relations. "It is based on Soviet people's sympathy to the Mexican people, interest in their history, arts, culture and customs. Both Mexico and the Soviet Union, he said, needed this cooperation. The world at large also needed it.

Eduard Shevardnadze took part in the conversation.

'CIA AGENTS'' ARREST SHOWS 'AGGRESSIVE' U.S. POLICY

LD061628 Moscow TASS in English 1535 GMT 6 May 87

[Text] Havana May 6 TASS -- The exposure and arrest this week by Cuban security bodies of two CIA agents is regarded here as another evidence of the aggressive policy pursued by U.S. imperialism with regard to the island of freedom. Cuban mass media pointed out that the new evidence of criminal activities of U.S agents in Cuba had brought to light just one of the sides of U.S. subversive activities against the neighbouring socialist country.

In the history of free Cuba there were quite a few examples of imperialism trying to make the Republic deviate from the path chosen by it with the help of various subversive activities and terror. Suffice it to recall a massive invasion of Playa Giron staged by mercenaries, numerous attempts on the life of Fidel Castro and other Cuban leaders, the training and arming of counterrevolutionaries, the blowing up in the port of Havana of a cargo vessel which claimed the lives of 100 people, and acts of subversion against Cuban missions abroad which were organized and carried out by CIA agents.

According to PRENSA LATINA, the exposure and arrest this week of two CIA agents, the same as previous anti-Cuban actions staged by U.S. imperialism, show that during all the 28 years of the triumphant march of the Cuban Revolution Washington has been continually weaving criminal plots against the island of freedom.

TAJIK PAPER CITES YAKOVLEV SPEECH TO INTELLIGENTSIA

PM051001 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 12 Apr 87 p 2, 3

[Unattributed report: "Restructuring and the Social Consciousness" -- passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] As has already been reported, a meeting of representatives of the republic's scientific and creative intelligentsia and press workers was held in Dushanbe and was addressed by A.N. Yakovlev, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Comrades! Almost 2 years have passed since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum began a new page in our life. Many things have happened for the country, the party, and for each of us in that time, which in general terms, is not long. Those many things can be summed up in a single brief and simple word -- restructuring.

If you compare the present with the recent past and ask what has really and most perceptibly changed in that time, I would answer: /Above all, it is we who have changed/. Our social horizons have broadened. We have a fuller and more accurate view of the past and present and a more realistic view of the future. We still have much to learn. But we have also realized, understood, and sensed much, and experience has made us wiser and more mature. But we have become younger in our hearts, feelings, and hopes.

Much has become irreversible. There will still be mistakes, some things will be done wrong, some things will have to be redone, there may be disappointments at failures. That's life. But you cannot take from society or the party the results of the unparalleled work of collective reason and collective conscience which began 2 years ago.

Of course, this work is far from complete. In deed, it has only just begun. But the movement of ideas, feelings, and emotions and the awareness of individual and social responsibility for what is happening cannot be halted.

/Restructuring is not a rejection of the past. It is a rejection of those things which we cannot and are not entitled to take with us into the future/. And not because of some subjective preferences or antipathies but because some obstacles from the past may slow down our forward movement, hold us back and sometimes simply bar our way to the future. In other words, it is necessary without fail to overcome the existing mechanism which acts as a brake on socioeconomic development and which has acquired a powerful inertia which has already demonstrated its ability to generate stagnation.

People may ask: Is it not better not to hurry events along? But to let time take its course -- it will examine everything itself, put everything in its proper place. It will judge who is right and who is guilty. No, Comrades, it is intolerable and foolish to adopt a passive stance, one of aloof and indifferent contemplation.

It is intolerable for many reasons. Primarily because ours is the first society in history to consciously develop itself and improve its internal ties and relations rather than drift with the current. [paragraph continues]

Society possesses all the preconditions for conscious and creative activity: fundamentally new socioeconomic bases; a highly developed scientific-technical and economic potential; and a party armed with the revolutionary theory and methodology of Marxism-Leninism.

All these assets will not work by themselves; or automatically produce progress. It is necessary to know how to use them -- that is, how to work, and work creatively, furthermore, in light not only of what is familiar but also of the new developments which constantly emerge. Leaving the solution of the new, nontraditional tasks to the "discretion" of time means not simply abandoning ourselves to the whim of chance and willfully refusing to make use of the existing opportunities, it also means returning to the past.

There are other reasons why it is foolish to rely on the verdict of time. In fact is has already happened, time has already passed judgment. Let us be frank: Many problems which we are now describing as urgent, acute, and topical were being discussed 15-20 years ago. What happened? The gap between words and deeds developed from a social ailment into a political malaise. There was a catastrophic decline in responsibility, ostentatiousness flourished, criticism and control were suppressed, unprincipledness became the norm of conduct, and indifference became a widespread attitude.

You know the results of all that. They were discussed at the 27th party congress and at the Central Committee January (1987) Plenum. The pace of progress slowed, including at the level of the life of the people. A lag occurred in the most important, promising areas of science and technology. The spiritual and moral atmosphere became contaminated. We wasted time twice over, so to speak. First, we did not move forward as energetically and productively as we could and should have done and, furthermore, we tolerated stagnation. Second, a mentality and theory which justified inertia and idleness were given theoretical support and high-level blessing.

Restructuring became historically necessary and therefore inevitable. Designed to accelerate socioeconomic development, it is leading to a new qualitative state of society, entering life imperiously, disturbing many people's peace, stimulating thought and social activeness, and encouraging initiative and enterprise.

The communist teaching was born of a humanist, moral rejection of a society based on private property. Of the rejection of that society's morality and its predominant principles of relations among people. It was born of a salutary desire to make life worthy of man and to elevate man himself, in a struggle against all suppression and denigration of human dignity. True humanism is the highest moral creed of the communist teaching.

It is true that in the past practice did not always actually correspond to these lofty ideals. This was prevented by limited material potential and external conditions in which it was necessary not simply to live but also to defend the right to existence.

The situation today is fundamentally different. Man in a socialist society has the right to worthy living conditions, to social justice, and to a casting vote in deciding all state and social affairs not only and not so much because he will work better and become more disciplined and inwardly richer. Man has the right to everything which society at the relevant stage of development can give him by virtue of the fact that he is man and because the good of man is socialism's supreme purpose.

The concrete measure of those benefits is determined in a collectivist society by a person's labor and contribution to the material and spiritual wealth of the country and the people. But restructuring does not end at the level of the individual. It becomes effective only when it embraces the masses and all spheres of life. Without a restructuring of consciousness there will be no restructuring in economic management, administration, or social practice.

Essentially if is a matter of establishing new life goals in people's consciousness and in practice. They are new in terms of their concrete content and in terms of their interconnection with people's actual conduct.

1. Retrospective: The Objective Grounds for Restructuring [subhead]

The need to switch to intensive forms of economic management, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and changing the management of the national economy for those purposes were discussed many times in the past. However, years passed yet the situation did not change significantly. Furthermore, inertia and conservatism prevailed and led to stagnation.

What conclusions should be drawn from this on the basis of a sober analysis of social phenomena? In principle there may be several -- depending on how deeply the essence of events is examined, what time scale is used, and how big a stratum of social experience is examined.

The first point, which can be found at the superficial level, is: the unsatisfactory execution of decisions because of the personal qualities and irresponsibility of specific executants. This is true, because much depends on the professionalism, competence, and conscientiousness of the management apparatus. But in many instances the executants changed but the situation remained the same. Thus the problem lies elsewhere: in the broad and complex range of social, economic, legal, and other conditions, in the atmosphere of universal complacency which countered any initiative and exploration and rejected the slightest attempt to assess particular phenomena critically.

Consequently, these conditions must be investigated without fail when analyzing the past and examining the reasons for and factors behind the failures. How did they arise? What factors allowed particular deviations to occur? Why was much left to drift along? You know that the January plenum formulated a conclusion of fundamental significance regarding the mechanism acting as a brake on social development. The aim now is to examine it, to study how it is formed and how it functions, to destroy this mechanism, and to create reliable obstacles to prevent its revival.

There is another legitimate conclusion here: Some of the decisions made at that time were insufficiently substantiated and well considered. One reason was the voluntarism at all levels which can dominate in an atmosphere where openness is absent, where there is insufficient democracy, and where control from below is neglected. There are also other factors, among which the failure to study certain theoretical problems must be highlighted.

It is clear to everyone that from the viewpoint of the volume and content of accumulated experience, its intrinsic diversity, and the profundity and quality of its interpretation, 70 years of socialist development is enough time. Socialism itself has changed in that time, and our understanding of the path traveled and its lessons has also changed.

We have become much stronger -- both materially and spiritually. The efforts of past generations have meant that living conditions today are completely different. Problems bequeathed by the old society have been resolved. No one is unemployed, no one is hungry or homeless, no one is illiterate. Our international position is firm and authorititive, our defense is secure. The necessary reserve of strength has thus been created to enable society to move toward a new quality.

An adult, with a wisdom born of experience but still full of strength and energy, assesses his youth differently from when he was young. He does not repudiate it but sees its successes and failures more clearly. In the same way, our more mature and stronger society is now reaching new levels of consciousness, civic spirit, and morality. Even if we have not completely analyzed the factors which predetermined difficult and sometimes tragic chapters in our history, we have at least come quite a lot closer to understanding them.

Another fact is clear to us today: We embarked upon and traveled the path of socialist building not merely in exceptionally difficult conditions. We have had to theoretically analyze the building of the new society as we went along and develop concepts for the future. There were and are no ready-made blueprints for socialism.

In these conditions the theoretical tenets of Marxism-Leninism were sometimes applied to practice in a mechanical way, without considering the real conditions. Consequently a tendency emerged to absolutize earlier solutions and to display a simplistic attitude toward the role of social science in the process of socialist building.

The CPSU Central Committee January Plenum said that in this period many of Lenin's tenets on socialism were interpreted simplistically and their theoretical depth and significance were undermined. Superficial notions about communism, abstract and out-of-touch theorizing, and unrealistic predictions became widespread.

Socialist and communist building were depicted as a straight highway, as a clearly defined line along which curves, still less zigzags, were inconceivable; anything which in practice did not fit in with the scheme was anathema. Psychologically, the desire to build the new society as quickly as possible is understandable, but the will alone is not enough. Unrealistic jumping of the gun and hollow promises led to disillusionment and, even worse, to cynicism.

The notion of a uniformity which increases as progress toward communism is made and of the suppression of diversity found its way into theory and practice more from everyday consciousness than from science. In the economy there is only state, nationwide ownership and only one scheme for managing it. In the social sphere there is the obliteration of all differences. In the political sphere there is the immutability of political structures, and so on and so forth. The advocates of these views saw progress as an increasing simplification, rectification, and uniformity of processes.

Goals of the rapid removal of class differences led to liquidationist attitudes toward kolkhozes and the undermining of the agricultural economy and aroused distrust of agrarian policy. The disregarding of Lenin's ideas on the cooperative system predetermined the line of winding up cooperative farms, which in turn led to a narrowing of socialism's economic potential and excluded considerable labor resources from social production. [paragraph continues]

The categorization of subsidiary plots as a purely private matter and the definition of individual labor as alien squeezed out of production a considerable number of people who were capable of working and, furthermore, of working in areas where the state's activities did not extend.

The concepts of the anticommodity lobby [antitovarniki] also caused considerable harm. It only seems as though these were purely academic disputes. In fact, contempt for economic accountability, profit, and self-financing and "padding" to permit the payment of unearned "wages" disorganized the economy and laid the foundations for mismanagement.

The dogmatic approach to the centralization of management spawned departmentalism, intensified the influence of technocratic bureaucracy, and undermined the potential for the resourceful management of production, which must now be quickly rectified. Depriving labor collectives of the economic accountability method of managing production and the right to dispose of their own income alienated working people from common interests and led to indifference and passivity.

V.I. Lenin's works are distinguished primarily by their vision of the real dialectic of life and the complexity and diversity of historical development. All known experience demonstrates that history has never progressed in any direction by means of oversimplification. On the contrary, each succeeding formation has been intrinsically more complex than its predecessor. There is hardly any reason to consider socialism an exception to this.

Let us take the concept of automatism in the operation of social laws. When examining capitalism we see the complexity and variety of its internal processes and mechanisms. As soon as discussion turns to socialism people think everything emerges spontaneously, independently of man. Production relations themselves, it is claimed, harmonize with the development of productive forces. Planned and balanced economic development and the solution of social questions occur automatically. The mechanisms of social justice, relations among nations, and much else operate without contradictions.

Something else that proved harmful was the concept of socialism as an "organic entity." This socialism deprived of such living qualities as contradictions, their dialectic and interaction in the process of the development of complex factors, including contradictory ones, and the resultant multifariousness of the historical process.

The question is not only and not so much one of the scientific vagueness of this concept. It is a question not even of terminology but of how, for what purpose, this concept was used in real conditions and of what it hallowed, regardless of its supporters' will or intentions. In practice it served to justify stagnation, created the false impression that all problems had already been solved, and hindered the development of a scientific search in the social sciences.

Even these few examples show how dogmatism occurred, "established itself," and took root in our consciousness and, through it, in practice. Dogmatism occupies a special place in the series of ailments which have afflicted the spiritual sphere and scientific thought. It occupies a special place in terms of its extent, by virtue of its deadening influence, and by the scale of the threat which it poses to the course of acceleration, since dogmatism by its very nature rejects development.

Dogmatic thinking is an inability or unwillingness to embrace the phenomena of the objective world in their entirety and in the dynamics and contradictoriness of their development. It portrays the surrounding world as an ossified formation and science as a set of inviolate "truths" and propositions. According to common sense, dogmatism must inexorably lead to disillusionment and defeat. What happened, however, was that this stance won prestige and an honored place in society for its supporters.

It is clear that dogmatism is not a scientific theory but a stance dictated by individual and group interests. Like any social phenomenon, dogmatism needs the appropriate social base. It inherits all the qualities of dogmatic thinking -- ideas limited and banal and primitive in form and a religious worship of postulates.

The essence of dogmatism as a social phenomenon lies in the influence of dogmatic thinking on the very organization of society's spiritual life and the processes in it. From this viewpoint, /it is right to characterize dogmatism as authoritarian thinking elevated to the status of a political, moral, and intellectual principle/. As the product of an authoritarian political culture and mentality, dogmatism itself helps to preserve and consolidate them. This social function fully serves the interests of those who are not interested in development, who are happy with the status quo, and who will not or cannot respond to the challenges of the time and life's new phenomena. Such a characterization is applicable not only to social scientists but to anyone, since this is essentially a matter of life stance.

The ideological and theoretical support for restructuring presupposes, among other things, the destruction of dogmatism -- that substantial element in the braking mechanism in social consciousness. Restructuring is an act of productive, purposeful, and conscious creation. That is how it must be not only in economics, politics, and social life but wherever the condition, trends, and prospects of spiritual life are effected: in culture, education, and the social sciences.

The conjunction of the objective preconditions for restructuring and a particular philosophical readiness did not occur suddenly or spontaneously, though it was somewhat late. We speak of the negative phenomena of recent decades and the trends of stagnation. These assessments are correct: Without constructive criticism there can be no progress.

Something else is equally correct. Namely that in addition to the processes which are now publicly condemned, other opposite processes were developing. Party, civic conscience was working intensively, without which the Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and today's moral upheaval would have been inconceivable. An ideological search was under way and the discussion of the whole range of problems in the economy, management, social questions, and socialist legality grew in scale.

Of course, everything that was discussed was not equally valuable. Not everything stemmed from life. The important point was that the ideological and moral potential for the future fundamental changes surfaced and gradually grew through those searches, discussions, and doubts. The demand within society to end passivity, inertia, political irresponsibility, abuses, and mindless drifting with the current grew.

This is also further confirmation of both the objective necessity of restructuring and its practicability.

2. Restructuring and the Democratization of Social Life [subhead]

The spiritual area was not, of course, sealed off from unhealthy processes. Indeed, it was the first sphere to be subjected to their destructive impact. It is naive to think the fundamental law of history that social existence determines consciousness ceases to operate under socialism. On the contrary, its role and significance here become even greater and more substantial.

The tasks of restructuring in the sphere of social consciousness are therefore particularly complex, and their solution is inseparable from restructuring in the material base. It is necessary to create, strengthen, and expand the ideological and theoretical foundation of restructuring; to convince everyone of its inevitability and urgency; to enhance social activeness and develop the creativity of the masses; to search constantly for answers to many difficult questions posed by life; to foresee the emergence of problems, bottlenecks, and difficulties, to forecast them -- and thereby promote the cause and the course of acceleration. This is the main avenue of work.

There is another and no less important aspect here -- the need to rectify the intolerable processes and phenomena consciousness itself bred by the unsuitable practices of recent decades. The negative trends built up over a long period of time in the absence of sufficiently effective resistance. The length of time was such that a generation grew up whose professional and personal development took place under the distorting influence of stagnation.

Those people who even quite recently openly flouted our moral and indeed our legal norms have now fallen silent. However, feelings of total license, a cynical attitude to morality and the law, and indifference have by no means been eradicated. It will take years to remedy this situation. We must not delude ourselves on this score.

But there is quite an effective accelerator in attuning consciousness to the wavelength of the revolutionary changes. Namely /socialist democracy/. We often talk about it as an expression of the highest social justice. That is so. We also talk about it as the most effective means of managing society. That is true. We also talk about it as a lofty humane value and as one of the most important revolutionary gains. That is also correct. One must also agree that democracy and openness are the most effective remedy for any antisocial phenomena.

If democracy had operated reliably everywhere, it would surely not have been possible for glaring problems to pile up in the social sphere. When, on the one hand, people's real needs and requirements were sacrificed in the pursuit of purely production indicators, as a result of which production itself suffered. On the other hand, the people directly responsible for these phenomena were outside the scope of monitoring or even simply outside the reach of those whose interests suffered most seriously.

/Democracy/, when it is actually put into practice, as opposed to being a purely verbal construct, /is the most reliable educational mechanism/. Social experience and trust in people foster an active life stance. That trust breeds a sense of responsibility, committed participation, initiative, and persistence in achieving goals.

When posing the question of the educational and moral significance of democracy, we must sufficiently and fully appreciate the content of this concept. [paragraph continues]

Democracy means not only the political system of society, it means real equality of people in relation to the means of production and ownership. Democracy means not only laws ensuring the functioning of the political system, it means the most active involvement of working people in the running of society.

Democracy means struggle, competition, and rivalry, if you will. We must learn creative discussion. The search for the way to build socialism more effectively, with minimum outlay, is inseparable from clashes of opinions, assessments, and interests. It is possible, even inevitable, some people will lose out in the clashes of attitudes, standpoints, and interests. Ultimately everyone benefits from this competition.

One quite often observes two extremes regarding discussion. There is a category of people who regard every newspaper and magazine article virtually as a directive. Faced with two differing standpoints on a problem, such people become indignant and begin demanding "clarification" and punishment for those responsible for the discord. It is difficult to describe such a posture except as militant unprincipledness, no matter what fine words and ideas it is cloaked in. In fact, such a person essentially of his own free will, rejects a conscious, critical attitude toward topical problems of our life and refuses to formulate his own stance, support it by well-conceived arguments, and defend it in honest, open debate. He is ready to regard anything as a directive: one thing now and another tomorrow, even if it is the diametric opposite.

This stance logically adjoins the other extreme, whereby all the diversity of standpoints begins to be divided into two: "Mine" and the "wrong one." "Mine" is foisted on other people via every available resource and means, even ones that are known to be unworthy. None of this has anything to do with democracy.

Democracy does not mean laying down the law, it means analyzing a question in a well reasoned, knowledgeable manner and knowing how to listen, including to the other side, how to scrutinize arguments, how to find their rational germ, and how to win by force of reason rather than by shouting.

Tolerance and consideration of a different point of view are by no means synonymous with a readiness to accept shortcomings, negative phenomena, and abuses. They are based on a sense of personal worth and respect for this feeling in others.

Let us take culture and cultural policy. Perhaps nowhere else in our country were as many prejudices to be found as here. Questions about what could and could not be discussed, written, or filmed were decided with bureaucratic callousness. With what results? The upshot was that the artificial restrictions and the atmosphere of secrecy in which they arose tended to reinforce the monopoly position of certain officials, groupings, and genres to the detriment of others. Art and culture were afflicted by bureaucratization and a process of "antiselection" whereby talented, creative, restless, and inquiring people were debarred from creative work became increasingly marked there.

I certainly do not wish to say everything in our cultural life was so bad. Dozens of artists could be named who worked with enormous productiveness and who enjoyed nationwide recognition and world renown. But the trends I have enumerated did exist. They not only existed but intensified, causing appreciable moral and ideological damage.

A stream of colorless works overwhelmed literature, the cinema, and television -- the art forms with the largest mass appeal. This stream of dullness did not and could not, of course, serve as any sort of barrier to bourgeois ideology and Western "mass culture." Rather it complemented this monstrous "mass culture," since it bred its own spiritual aridity and moral and emotional primitivism.

Artistic creation serves social needs. There is the need for emotional self-analysis, self-knowledge, and self-evaluation. There is society's and man's need for self-improvement. Art induces a sense of compassion, a charitable disposition, and empathy. Artistic perception of the essence of daily life and the ability to break out beyond its bounds and introduce into circulation broader social, moral, and temporal criteria and frameworks are both requirements of genuine art and signs of it. Without such taxing, sometimes agonizing, work there can be no moral progress or spiritual development of the individual or society as a whole.

Artistic creation is not a means of serving individual self-esteem and personal tastes. Movies which were once shelved are now appearing on the screen. Certain previously unpublished works are now being brought out. Readers and viewers can assess particular works for themselves and judge them on their merits. This is what consititues the shaping of an active life stance and is based on absolute trust in people and in their opinions, civic feelings, and common sense.

3. Restructuring and the Tasks of the Social Sciences [subhead]

Lenin taught that revolutionary theory "cannot be invented, it grows from the sum total of the revolutinary experience and revolutionary thought of all the world's countries" (Vol 27, p 11). The concept of acceleration grew out of an analysis of the fundamental problems of the country's development and a generalization of world experience.

The social sciences' special place in restructuring is determined by the key fact we are building a new society, and I emphasize a /new society/, rather than merely a new economy, social sphere, infrastructure, and so forth. Socialism is the theory and practice of /social/ creation centered on man.

The theoretical foundations of the strategy of acceleration are based on the rehabilitation of a truly Marxist understanding of the "mechanism" of the functioning of social development laws. These are not impersonal trends which operate without regard for people. Under socialism they lose their haphazard character and their manifestation depends increasingly on how deeply they are understood and transformed into a guide to action. Only on this basis can development be accelerated, and therefore gaining further and deeper knowledge of the laws of socialism and overcoming established stereotypes is today a priority problem. It is therefore appropriate to raise the question -- a key question from both the ideological and political viewpoint -- of the /theoretical content/ of the concept of acceleration, its problems, and its methodology.

The concept of acceleration is not so much an answer to the question of how to raise the economic growth rate. It is a quest for effective ways and means to ensure that in the foreseeable future the socialist society becomes the embodiment of everything progressive and humane in world social progress, a model of social efficiency and spiritual wealth.

The idea of a new qualitative state of socialist society prompts us to understand the problem of creation as a dialectically contradictory process of human activity in which the form as well as very essence of socialism is developing: V.I. Lenin said "it is not just phenomena which are transient, labile, in a state of flux, and separated merely by arbitrary borderlines, but essence itself" (Vol 29, p 227).

The social sciences must act as an effective antidote to the technocratic way of thinking deeply rooted in the minds of economic managers and a section of the scientific and technical intelligentsia. Every economic, managerial, and technical decision must now be subjected to a kind of humanitarian examination to reveal its human meaning and human orienation, so to speak.

The widespread technocratic approach to the solution of many problems, including purely social problems, originates from a serious underestimation of the role and importance of the social sciences. To this day the approach based on vulgar economism has not been overcome. The solution of national economic, production, and technical tasks is conceived and interpreted as the direct and immediate solution of social tasks. The system of economic management is sometimes given effective priority over the system of the management of society as a whole.

The historical reasons for this are understandable. For a very long time the main concern was survival. Producing more steel, machinery, and grain ensuring the necessary defense. But times have fundamentally changed and as a result questions of management have become more complex. Life demanded many new qualities from leaders. However, the inertia in people's consciousness and approaches remained. The economy, and the material spheres as a whole are of course an essential, key precondition for the solution of all other social problems and social progress. but only a precondition.

The task of the social sciences, in the most general terms, is to provide an integrated concept, a "blueprint" for restructuring not only in each of its sectors, but also as a whole, in the interconnection of all society's spheres of life and activity. Their task is not to eulogize restructuring but to elaborate it in practical terms on a realistic basis and to fit it into the long-term concept of the development of Soviet society.

But the tasks of their social sciences are by no means confined to this. The scope of their service to society is wider: They are called upon to make a decisive contribution to creating and consolidating a climate of intellectual dynamism. Our society is considering and weighing up most the complex development sciences are called upon to play a leading role in this collective process of thinking.

Essentially it is a question of the urgent need experienced by political, economic, and ideological practice for a substantial advance in theoretical studies in the whole range of the social sciences and humanities. Do objective preconditions for this exist? Without question. Furthermore, these preconditions transcend the bounds of purely pragmatic, utilization considerations. [paragraph continues]

There is every reason to believe we are somewhere at the very beginning of a qualitatively new stage in both the practice and the theory of socialism.

The party has made an enormous contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory during the ideologically and politically extremely full and fruitful period from April 1985 to January 1987. The 27th party congress was both a summing up and a beginning. A summing up of searches, analyses, reflections, and breakthroughs in crucial sectors of the theory and practice of scientific socialism, new vision of socialism, of the ways and prospects for its progress, a new generalized analysis of the present-day world. The Central Committee resolution on the journal KOMMUNIST, M.S. Gorbachev's speed at the social scientists' conference, and the January plenum were a concretization of the concept of restructuring. The beginning of new quests, of a new stage of constructive, creative work.

In tems of its scale and context the experience of real socialism today is such that it enables and demands a new step to be taken in understanding the nature, internal workings, and law-governed features of the socialist social system. One of the most important theoretical tasks now is to analyze all the difficulties, merits, shortcomings, and prospects of socialist society without wearing either rose-colored or inpenetrable dark glasses.

/First/, [this is] to clearly and honestly tell ourselves what does not and cannot satisfy us, the reasons for this, and how answers to unsolved problems can be found. /Second/, to formulate on the basis of what we have achieved, scientifically validated ways of making further advances in the light of the new realities which have taken shape in the world in the last 2-3 decades.

To avoid any misunderstanding let me say that it is not a question of any kind of revision of the Marxist-Leninist teaching. Indeed, there can be no question today, after 70 years of struggle, labor, and enormous achievements and successes, of returning to nonsocialist ideas. We must not go back to the past, even to what worked well in different historical conditions. We must go /forward, without abandoning what is positive but developing and improving it/. Forward with Lenin and a Leninist methodology of theory and practice. That is the gist and import of the chief task that restructuring sets the social sciences.

It is very important that our social scientists restore their good name. To put it mildly, our philosophers, political economists, historians, representatives of scientific communism, and literary experts have not always acted as pioneers and champions of the new and advanced or fought againt routine and spiritual stagnation. Our social scientists had a hand in the attempts to discredit cybernetics and genetics, in declaring mathetical modeling methods in economics to be virtually unscientiic, in ridiculing Soviet forecasting methods, and so forth. This is a legacy which the social sciences must resolutely and thoroughly repudiate. Solving all these tasks is easy, but it is essential to make up for lost time.

Socialism as a real social system has long been developing on its own foundations. Material and social foundations. In the sphere of theoretical awareness, however, the dialectics of development were such that, for a number of reasons, the reflection of our society's objective successes and achievements in the theoretical awareness proceeded not by qualitative development of the theory of socialism but to a large extent by means of quantitative comparisons between socialism and capitalism, commentaries on adopted decisions, and scholastic disputes out of touch with life, as if such approaches were themselves a substitute for the development of theory.

The study of real, living socialism was sometimes replaced by farfetched formulations and schemes. The causes of this situation were revealed in detail at the Central Committee January Plenum. The chief cause was that the party, its Central Committee, and the country's leadership were unable in their policy to detect promptly or fully assess the danger of growing negative phenomena and failed to show due exactingnes or necessary persistence, including in questions of developing the theory and practice of building socialism.

Moreover, under the impact of an uncritical attitude toward successes a whole array of influences distorting the progress of theoretical thought developed and became ossified. Lenin's tenet that the value of theory primarily resides in accurately portraying "all the contradictions that occur in life" was consigned to oblivion. Lenin's tenets regarding socialism as a developing society whose progress demands constant analysis of real practice in life were impoverished, if not emasculated.

The matter was complicated by the fact that the actual forms of organization and functioning of society and the economy that emerged in the specific conditions of the thirties and forties were in many respects canonized in the scientific and public mind. Moreover, these ideas were in fact identified with essential characteristics of socialism and were introduced as constants in theory as unquestionable dogmas. This had an adverse impact on theoretical thought itself. Whole areas of theoretical thought, particularly those relevant in modern conditions, were not properly developed.

The level of demands made on the social sciences and their accountability fell sharply, and they were often in the position of "unclaimed mail." The social sciences quite often found themselves in a position where they were deprived of necessary information, their recommendations were not heeded, and they themselves were relegated to the role of commentators.

As a result we entered the eighties not only with serious and now well known practical omissions and errors but also with a theoretical awareness that was in many respects still at the level of the thirties, when our society was at a relatively early stage of its formation.

Theoretical work cannot lose sight of such a fundamental point as the nonaxiomatic nature of social knowledge. This is dictated by several factors. Society itself -- both the object and the subject of social cognition -- is in constant flux and development.

The nonaxiomatic nature of social knowledge is also most closely bound up with the ability of man, classes, groups, and society as a whole to accumulate, generalize, and utilize experience. All people's conscious activity is built on this ability, but it also has another aspect. In a more complex, developed, and educated society the ways of organizing society's activity must be appropriate. On the other hand, experience shows that if certain negative phenomena arise and persist in society for long enough they can produce corresponding experience capable in turn of distorting social relations in particular areas.

It is this which ultimately generates the demand for constant renewal of theoretical knowledge. Resting on our achievements -- no matter how considerable -- and imagining that everything has already been "discovered" and is known means condemning ourselves to fall so far behind that catching up would be particularly difficult.

However, the aforementioned absolutization affected not only individual concepts and tenets. It was also aimed at the basic framework of social knowledge as a whole. Even the simple extension of research to new problems and areas was often regarded as "undermining the foundations." Just as areas closed to criticism emerged, so the number of areas closed to scientific research increased. The view spread among a considerable proportion of scientific workers, particularly among the young, that "socialism cannot be studied at all."

It seems clear to everyone that matters are different now. Briefly, absolutely all aspects of our internal life and the development of world socialism as a whole and all international problems need theoretical examination at a new qualitative level.

But a special place should be assigned to the real dialectics of the development of society in the process of restructuring and in socialist building. The mere fact that we are carrying out the conscious and purposeful building of society lends special significance to the problem of the subjective and its role and place in history and practice.

Conscious historical creativity also raises the problem of the manageability of this process including the need to develop and create within society an effective system of feedback. At the moment this feedback operates haphazardly to a considerable extent. The cost here -- both material and, more importantly, human and spiritual -- is increasingly significant. What is needed is a system of social management, in the broad sense of the concept, which would take full account of the whole diversity of social conditions and interests and would have the ability to promptly expose and signal emerging negative features and make the necessary adjustments to practical activity.

It is necessary to comprehensively study the ways, methods, and means of actively shaping the needs of the different strata of society and the socialist way of life as a whole. In this context it is necessary to examine the origins and nature of the various deviations in socialist conditions. The interests of classes, strata, and collectives and the ways of increasing society's ideological and social unity need reliable theoretical substantiation. There is also the question of the socialist mechanism of motivation.

There is also an urgent need for strictly social research -- sociological, sociopsychological, and humanitarian research -- to come to the fore and increasingly bear fruit. Socialism means, above all, man and his actual relationship with society, other people, and the material and spiritual areas. Movement toward communism means primarily the improvement of social relations, of course, on an appropriate material and spiritual basis. Theoretical consciousness is called upon to see and reflect not only the depth of these processes but also the existing dialectic of interconnections between consciousness and practice and law-governed patterns in the development of both scientific and everyday consciousness.

Experience shows a simple set of pragmatic decisions, no matter how rational they may seem, is not enough to ensure the successful implementation of radical economic reform. Restructuring on this scale inevitably also raises fundamental questions of socialist political economy and requires that they be examined anew in relation to the conditions of modern social production.

The first point to which I should like to draw attention is the persistence with which V.I. Lenin distinguished between formal-legal and real achievements in the development of socialist society, including its most general, fundamental processes. [paragraph continues]

He repeatedly emphasized the fundamental difference between formal juridical socialist socialization and socialization "/in practice/." Continuing this Leninist tradition, the party is now striving to achieve real planning in the development of production and real centralism and real democracy in economic management.

It might seem satisfactory that during the decades of socialist economic management a ramified system of state plans has been created embracing all production from top to bottom and that planning and democratic and centralism are safeguarded by the laws and institutional system.

But there are other criteria for evaluating the actual state of affairs. The real extent of planning is measured by how reliably the balanced development of the national economy, the social sphere, and society is maintained and regulated. Real centralism is measured by how effectively and efficiently our plans, laws, and statewide schemes are implemented. The real democratism of management is measured not simply by the granting of rights to labor collectives but by the creation of the necessary socioeconomic and political conditions for the actual exercise of those rights and for the display by enterprise collectives of initiative in society's interests. Socialist political economy is called upon to give economic practice scientific criteria making it possible to verify the authenticity of restructuring and expose attempts to verify the authenticity of restructuring and expose attempts to replace real changes by mere imitations.

Another most important question for modern political economy is the differentiation of the organizational-technical form of social process from its socioeconomic content. People of ten have difficulties with this point. For instance, an instrument of economic management like the planned management of socialized production is sometimes transformed into the universal and sole indicator of the "socialist nature" of a social system. What is completely ignored here is the economy's social essence preceding management -- the content possessed, as the 27th congress stressed, by socialist ownership as a multifaceted system of relations among people, collectives, sectors, and areas of the country in utilizing the means and results of production. Some political economists are still inclined to finish studying the question of socialist ownership with a statement of the differences between its state and cooperative-kolkhoz forms, although this is precisely where all research should begin. Focusing all attention on abstract agruments about the advantages of the state form of ownership over the kolkhoz-cooperative form was hardly conducive to real understanding of the mechanism of our economic life.

Lenin's well known thesis -- that the cooperative system is the path to socialism -- retains its importance today. Our social science still has not fully examined the problem of personal ownership or the role and place of individual labor activity in Soviet society. The practical experience which will be gained in the process of implementing the Law on Individual Labor Activity will make it possible to consider this problem in greater depth.

The ideological and moral potential of the questions raised in the final decades of the 20th century -- the struggle for peace and survival, the humanization of the scientific and technical revolution, the opening up of the sea bed and space and its consequences, the protection of nature, the attitude to the cultural legacy, and much else -- is tremendous.

Life also demands a new approach to the study of the processes of world development itself. The CPSU proceeds from the premise that changes in this development are so deep and all-embracing that they require serious reconsideration, a comprehensive assessment of all the new factors and trends, a new view of the state of world affairs, and a significant deepening of theoretical analysis of it.

The heart of the scientific concept of the modern world formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress contains two important provisions. /First/, it was stated that mankind has now entered a special, critical period in historical development. The period has, for the first time, brought mankind face to face with the tragic choice between life and self-destruction. /Second/, the search for ways to save mankind from this situation has focused theoretical thinking on the thorough study of the modern world with all its diversity, contradictions, and at the same time certain integrity. The urgent need to resolve the most vital task of survival arouses mankind's instinct for self-preservation and gives the opposing social systems incentives for cooperation commensurate with the imperatives of the nuclear age.

This fundamental conclusion is based on a scientific analysis of the entire complex of modern contradictions, relations between states from the two social systems, and competition between opposing formations: interimperialist contradictions; the struggle between imperialism and the developing countries; contradictions on the global scale -- problems of war and peace and of overcoming backwardness and the ecological, economic, and other crises affecting the foundations of civilization's existence.

The CPSU's creative approach to questions of the interconnection between the class and the general human factors is of fundamental significance. Even quite recently much philosophical and economic research treated the concepts of mankind's world historic existence as a species in elevated abstract terms with no practical application in our socially divided world. But in the new conditions, while emphasizing the fundamental differences of a class character and pointing to the historic struggle between the two socioeconomic systems, it is impossible to ignore the most complex dialectic of their interaction or the profound interdependence and interlinked nature of the most important processes of world development.

The dialectical material vision of the modern era will not accept either denial of the fundamental opposition between the two existing formations and modes of production or disregard of the essential unity of modern mankind and its common interests.

History's objective logic has now brought to the fore a contradiction of a general human nature -- the problem of war and peace. Peace in the nuclear age is mankind's highest social value and, furthermore, an indispensable condition of its survival.

The concept of the new political thinking is oriented toward constant renewal and new approaches in domestic and foreign affairs, the economy, science and technology, the social sphere, and ideology. The search for and prompt consideration of the new so as to maximize the positive effects and reduce possible losses to a minimum are an immutable norm of the party's work -- both in theory and in practice.

IZVESTIYA NOTES WORKERS' POLL ON RESTRUCTURING

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[Interview with Professor V. Ivanov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Sociological Research Institute, conducted by own correspondent M. Berger under the "Restructuring and Economic Mechanism" rubric: "Real Hopes" -- first three and final two paragraphs are editorial comment]

[Text] We very much want the ideas of restructuring to be embodied in real life, in the practice of administration and in management as quickly as possible. [paragraph continues]

But we can see the changes we are striving for are advancing more slowly than expected. This means something is holding them back and impeding them. The attempt to advance while pretending that there are no obstacles en route and without making any endeavor to thoroughly and honestly determine their scale and influence merely shows a lack of concern or lack of trust in the reality of the changes.

What, then, is impeding restructuring? That is a question of concern to many and is argued, thought, and written about. The judgments contain a good deal of emotion and subjectivity.

To get the most complete and objective picture we turned to the USSR Academy of Sciences Sociological Research Institute. One of the themes of the scientific work being carried out there is called "What Is Hindering Restructuring?" IZVESTIYA correspondent M. Berger talks with Professor V. Ivanov, doctor of philosophy and director of the institute, about the initial research results. This article initiates a series devoted to key isues involved in restructuring the economic mechanism, which, as people are aware, will be examined at the next CPSU Central Committee Committee plenum.

[Berger] Vilen Nikolayevich, IZVESTIYA recently published a bitter letter sent by V. Matveyev, a driver from Leningrad Oblast, entitled "Why They Have Stayed Silent." If restructuring means struggle, then some people lose out. According to Matveyev, he was one of the losers when he joined battle in single combat with the authorities [nachalstvo]. He was not supported by his collective. Comrade Matveyev does not want changes, then? he undoubtedly does want them, but this collective clearly does not believe in their feasibility.

[Ivanov] Our polls, which we recently conducted in two stages at 120 enterprises in various oblasts in virtually all the country's republics, show that the balance is in favor of restructuring. Open opponents who consider that no changes at all are necessary amounted to 0.6 percent. The overwhelming majority (90 percent) of those polled are unconditionally in favor.

[Berger] This majority of ninety percent unconditionally in favor is impressive, although even 0.6 percent against is quite considerable. But it is also important to know if all the advocates of restructuring were conscientious in expressing their attitude toward it? Has not the habit of previous years of "unanimously approving and supporting" any measure from above, including those recognized later as mistaken and just as unanimously condemned, not played a part here?

[Ivanov] The results of the poll of young people conducted in Orsk are interesting in this respect. Why did we focus attention separately on young people? Their immunity to conformism is, after all, greater and their experience of according "unanimous approval" is small. In Orsk, for example, 84 percent of young workers and 94 percent of young engineers and employees are unreservedly in favor.

[Berger] Why is there such a marked difference in the assessment?

[Ivanov] There are many reasons. One of the most important, I think, is that the changes today are more marked in intellectual life. Radical changes have not yet occurred in the nature, organization, or renumeration of workers' labor. The consumer market remains the same and, moreover, the growth in the manufacture of consumer products last year was below the rate in 1985. The spiritual sphere is another matter. Democratization, openness, and extension of criticism, with, as a consequence, a narrowing of the distance between what is portrayed and what actually exists — all this could not fail to generate a rapid and sincere response.

[Berger] There is another thing that is clear. Showing a film on the big screen is one thing. You only have to decide to do so, although even this can prove difficult. Incorporating the indefatigable "Peasant from Arkhangelsk" [reference to TV documentary on enterprising local farmer] in today's economy and making not just individual enterprises but whole sectors economically accountable is something quite different. It is not enough here just to abandon dogmatic thinking. The development and introduction of new economic structures is far more complex and drawn-out than the printing of even the largest run of a novel that caused misgivings a few years back. The abandonment of dogma in economics itself is much more difficult than in the cultural sphere, if for no reason other than that there are many more professional exponents of economic dogmas.

[Ivanov] All of us, fortunately or unfortunately, are impatient. While making efforts today to develop restructuring we also want the results today: New goods, higher wages, a better apartment. The complete resolution of the housing problem alone is scheduled for the year 2000. Today, however, most people feel restructuring only in terms of greater work pressure. Some 62 percent of those polled at Moscow's "Santekhoborudovaniye" Plant, for example, indicated this. More than half of the engineering and technical personnel polled at 500 Moscow enterprises complained of an excessive work load.

[Berger] IZVESTIYA recently published a letter from V. Smirnov, a worker at Kalinin Oblast's Okhvat No 4 Forestry Unit under the title "On the Fringes of Restructuring...". The author painfully writes that restructuring is failing to go to the heart of things and that their forestry unit has not been affected. One has to say that there are quite a few letters received about the dilution of the processes of restructuring as the distance from the centers increases. How does it all fit with the poll data showing that restructuring is being met with the widest possible support?

[Ivanov] The ideas of restructuring and its ultimate goals are bound to attract the overwhelming majority of people in our society. But it is one thing to support transformations, and another to participate in them oneself and work for results. The respondent from the settlement of Okhvat writes that no changes are noticeable. But it is not just those from the remote reaches of production who have reason to complain here.

A total of more than 6,000 people were polled at industrial enterprises in 26 Moscow rayons. It emerges that while one in every five leaders, deputy leaders, or chief specialists believes restructuring at his enterprise is progessing successfully, this opinion is not shared by a single shop chief. Half of them replied they have not felt the effect of restructuring at all, while the other half noted that restructuring is under way but proceeding with great complications and slowly. Meanwhile, only 21 percent of polled leaders replied that the effects of restructuring are not being felt. In other words, the closer you get to production, the poorer the evaluation of the current processes.

[Berger] Gone are the days when only successes were "typical" but negative phenomena are classified as "isolated instances." Today there is no shortage of open and sharp presentation of the problems facing society. Here there is no divergence from reality.

[Ivanov] You know, by the way, that by no means everyone likes the present sharply critical mood of the press. Almost one-quarter -- 24 percent -- of people polled at machine building and metal processing enterprises in Kazakhstan believe the broad coverage of shortcomings and difficulties brings more harm than benefit.

[Berger] These are probably those whose personal interests have suffered in the course of the changes which are taking place?

[Ivanov] By no means. For example, 23 percent of workers in Moscow's Sevastopolskiy Rayon really believe that restructuring infringes upon the interests of a certain group of people. But the coincidence of percentages here is rather coincidental. I think a certain proportion of people who have lost absolutely nothing as a result of the imposition of order hold the really sincere belief that negative reporting ought to be mainly "for official use only."

[Berger] But you have to agree that another extreme also exists: The sacred belief that you only have to give someone a dose of sound criticism and "get him in the newspapers," and complete order will appear. Restructuring does not follow in the footsteps of newspaper articles, no matter how sharp or correct they may be. Yes, they are necessary, we cannot manage without them. This is only one of the necessary conditions, and far from the sole condition, of restructuring.

Restructuring must be fought for. Personally and specifically. You cannot manage just with articles and satirical pieces. Correct ideas and words are not sufficient, either. "Ideas," Marx and Engels wrote in their work "The Holy Family," "cannot implement anything at all. The implementation of ideas requires people who must use practical force." There you are: "Use practical force!" Sometimes, when reading the letters, one gets the impression that people somehow expect the dissemination of restructuring by subscription.

[Ivanov] Social parasitism is indeed a widespread phenomenon. One-third of people polled at Moscow's "Santekhoborudovaniye" Plant intend to wait until restructuring becomes more clearly defined and will only then decide whether to join. Many people, not only in Moscow but also in other cities' enterprises, point primarily to the inertia and passiveness of the collective itself as one of the factors hindering restructuring.

[Berger] But social parasitism and apathy did not appear suddenly, automatically. "They," as N. Shmalko, a blaster from Krivoy Rog, wrote in his letter to the editorial office, "are the consequence of our methods of work and can be eliminated only by changing these methods."

[Ivanov] "Methods of work" are nothing but the production relations which are the basis of all other relations. The restructuring of this basis will occur when there are qualitative changes in the legal and organizational form of their existence, when the entire economic machinery is restructured.

Analysis of the situation in this sphere offers little ground for optimism as yet. The point is that the financial and economic relations between enterprises and the state have not yet undergone substantial changes. For example, there are 14 economic normatives operating in a number of sectors which switched to self-capitalizing since the new year. How are they operating? By methodically prescribing the purposes for which remaining profits may be "independently" expended. Moreover, these normatives will be determined by none other than the sector's headquarters, and consequently personal relations with the headquarters will substantially affect the size and nature of these indicators. In other words, the "fig leaf" of economic indicators is a cover for the same old administrative method for managing the economy.

Then we are surprised that there is no growth of initiative when independence is broadened!

Even so, for the majority of people employed in the national economy, "methods of work" represent a specific situation prevailing at their specific enterprise. They represent the possibility or impossibility of influencing the state of affairs in their collective, the possibility or impossibility of not only working well but also earning well.

[Berger] "Real work will begin," O. Velichkin from Moscow writes to IZVESTIYA, "when everyone receives either wages for the work he has done (and not for fictitious work!), or else an allowance for enforced idleness, as we received after the war when working at the plant. Later, wage leveling erased these distinctions. Now we have a habit of social dependence, which is basically the death of efficiency."

[Ivanov] There is a great deal of truth in those remarks about habit. In Kazakhstan, for instance, in our polls, 40 percent of workers at enterprises came out in favor of the preservation of existing forms of work payment.

[Berger] Velichkin also writes about that: "We work 'anyhow' and in a slapdash way because this is advantageous to each of us. Yes, it is advantageous to everyone to see other people's labor productivity and his own wages rising. No smooth talking, lamentations, or prayers to 'make it rain' can change that."

[Ivanov] Smooth talking and lamentations are really ineffective methods. The improvement which has been embarked on in the system of work payments for 75 million workers and employees is a far more effective measure.

In implementing it, we should not forget the inertia inherent in the way of thinking and in economic management. Some time ago the restrictions were lifted on combining more than one profession and on working with a smaller workforce, with the entire sum of wages saved being distributed within the collectives. Many other elements of leveling have also been abolished, but very few enterprise leaders have taken advantage of the new opportunities. Moreover, some have put proposals to the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems asking it to restrict such payments.

Take another example. Last year we polled 20 experts (directors and chief specialists) from each of 120 major enterprises. We asked them to submit proposals on one of the most popular subjects -- improving accountability. Everyone was severely criticizing it. The question was formulated: What forms of accountability would yourself preserve? The result surprised us. Our experts reinstated, step by step, practicaly every aspect of the existing accountability system. There is stereotyped thinking for you.

[Berger] A significant component of the restructuring is the development of production self-management. This is dealt with in the Draft Law on the State Enterprises.

[Ivanov] This question is not as simple as it might appear at first glance. Some people might be surprised by this, but according to polls, not every worker wants to participate in production management. In Kazakhstan 14 percent of workers said they participate in public institutions in production simply because they are forced to do so.

There is still much that is not clear regarding the appointment of leaders by election. The lack of a fully developed system for nominating candidates leads to a situation where not infrequently they are sent down from above. [paragraph continues]

We could see the emergence of the institution of "production claqueurs," who, like theater claqueurs, will organize success -- specially in an open ballot -- for those who are not the most deserving.

There are, of course, many problems in the democratization of production. We must not close our eyes, for instance, to the contradiction which has emerged between leaders and practical workers. This can be seen increasingly clearly with each new poll. The strict division into "us" and "them" leads to serious consequences. It creates dependent tendencies in workers and employees: You, bosses, they say, give us everything, provide everything, and then we will work. On the other hand, a certain stratum of administrators develops a sense of being elite, of being chosen, reinforced by the fact that they receive legitimate or illegitimate privileges, which further exacerbates this contradiction. Interestingly, many of the leaders polled from enterprises in Moscow's Sevastopolskiy Rayon complain about the workers' inertia and lack of initiative, while the ordinary workers speak of the empty talk, indifference, and wait-and-see attitude of the leaders with regard to the restructuring.

[Berger] Your studies have uncovered many problems encountered by the restructuring. The question naturally arises: What do you propose? I have studied the recommendations of one of the institute's subunits, and, frankly, they are not notable for any great innovative or constructive content. "Step up the assimilation of leading experience," "organize material and technical supplies," "Improve professional skills," "combat formalism and bureaucracy," and so forth. Such advice is hardly going to be of effective assistance to the restructuring.

[Ivanov] It is still too early to speak of any more concrete recommendations, we are only in the initial stage. I will point out that studies in this area will be carried out constantly; this sociological "monitoring" will provide a basis for profound, constructive recommendations.

The widespread technocratic way of thinking represents the restructuring as the need to reconsider what production resources, manpower, and investment to invest where: When this is all correctly calculated, they say, the economic machinery will run smoothly. The truth is that there is no such thing as an "unpeopled" economy. We sociologists should study and analyze in greater depth the actual relationships which arise in the process of production and intercourse. [Ivanov ends]

We certainly cannot demand from science any immediate or exhaustive recommendations, least of all in the sphere of production relations. Of course, against the background of changes in public life the need to improve the economic machinery is especially marked, and our aspirations in this sphere are overtaking events. But is not that the guarantee of development?

Sociological research once again shows the restructuring will not appear of its own accord purely as a consequence of making the correct decisions. The pace and level of transformations is directly proportional to the restructuring of each and every one of us, to the determination with which we renounce our own stereotypes, to the extent to which we ourselves think and work in the new way.

IZVESTIYA EDITORIAL MARKS 1985 PLENUM JUBILEE

PM291333 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 87 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Work — The Criterion of Restructuring"]

[Text] There is in our present-day life a reference point that defined a new stage in the country's development. There is a date that marked the beginning of profound changes in all areas of society and production. That date was 23 April 1985. The reference point — the party central committee plenum held on that day.

It was then, 2 years ago, many negative phenomena impeding our progress were discussed for the first time with a complete sense of the acuteness and principle involved. It was then that the ideas of speeding up the country's socioeconomic development and achieving a new qualitative state of society were formulated in the most concise and concentrated way.

Although the word "restructuring" was not used at that memorable plenum, the guidelines adopted there marked the inception of the work of radically transforming the life of society and production. The decisions adopted at the Central Committee April (1985) Plenum were comprehensively validated and developed at the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent party central committee plenums and became a specific, thrusting action program for Soviet people.

Two years is, of course, a very short time by historical yardsticks. Yet it is possible to assert with utter justification that much has been achieved in that time. The social atmosphere itself has radically changed. We have learned to speak to one another. We have ceased indulging in wishful thinking. The critical interpretation of the real processes of life, extensive openness, strengthening of democratic principles, and collective discussion of urgent problems have helped promote new ideas and the new development strategy. People have begun to clear their minds of the outmoded dogmas. The new approaches to cadre policy have strengthened many areas of party, public, and production work with enterprising, able people. The extensive openness and the processes democratizing all aspects of life have shown themselves particularly clearly in the activity of labor collectives — in the resolution of both production and social questions. The uncompromising struggle to revive the moral principles of socialism has made it possible to rid ourselves of many negative phenomena as well as those actually responsible for them. As a result, working people have become more socially active and have become aware of their decisive role in the restructuring of society.

Work alone now serves as the true criterion of restructuring. Action and practical work predetermine success in carrying out the plans.

In the last 2 years substantial positive shifts have clearly taken place in our economy. Strengthening order, organization, and discipline at every level of the national economy has had an immediate effect upon our work results. The national income generated in the first year of the 5-year plan rose by 4.1 percent against a target of 3.9 percent. Growth in industrial output amounted to 4.9 percent against a target of 4.3 percent — this is the highest indicator in the last 9 years. In March this year, as the USSR Central Statistical Administration reports today, the volume of industrial output increased by 6 percent compared with the actual level last year.

However, we should not now judge the state of affairs in the economy just in terms of figures. You cannot fail to note here the beginning of deep, large-scale changes.

This primarily concerns the preparation for a technological breakthrough and the development of new equipment and techniques. More than 20 intersectorial scientific and technical complexes, concentrating their efforts on key national economic problems, are now operating in the country. Comprehensive targeted programs have been adopted in leading areas of scientific and technical progress. Reconstruction of the national economy is advancing on a broad front.

A most important event in the country's economic life was the introduction of state acceptance of output at many enterprises. Its purpose is not simply to act as an additional safeguard against shoddy work, but also to orient production workers toward a radically new standard of products and provide concrete assistance in the retooling of enterprises.

Fundamental significance for the future of the economy is attached to the formation of the new economic machinery, the establishment of new forms and methods of ecobomic management in the city and the countryside, and the utilization of economic levers to increase production efficiency. This year enterprises of 5 all-union ministries, as well as 37 major associations in other sectors, have converted to full economic accountability and self-financing.

The new principles of economic management are incorporated in the Draft Law on the Sate Enterprises (Associations). The discussion of the draft confirmed that millions of people are prepared to work in the new way, taking on all the responsibility for the results of the collective's work.

At the same time there are also many complaints in the editorial mail that progressive methods of economic management (like the new forms of cooperative and individual labor activity by citizens) are being put into practice too slowly, and do not always yield the necessary return.

It is, of course, necessary to take into account that the transition to new principles of economic management is taking place within the strict framework of a balanced 5-year plan, when resources for all items of income and expenditure have already been distributed. There is only one way to resolve the problems which have arisen: reliance.on one's own potential and the use of one's own initiative.

What is preventing certain collectives from following this path? There can be only one answer: the force of inertia and habituation to centralized "spoon-feeding." The following fact testifies to an unenterprising, irresponsible attitude to new methods of economic management: A number of industrial enterprises which have converted to self-financing and economic accountability not only failed to find additional sources of profit, but failed to cope at all with the plan for the 1st quarter in this indicator.

The braking machinery has also manifested itself clearly in the social sphere. New principles of labor remuneration have been approved in the material sectors of the national economy. But only 40 collectives in various sectors have taken advantage of the right granted to them and gone over to the new wage rates and salaries. The others? They are still pointing to a limited wage fund, and at the same time spend it lavishly on paying overtime....

In the current 5-year plan appropriations for housing construction and the development of the social infrastructure have increased significantly. However, poor use is made of these appropriations. In the 1st quarter of this year the plan for the commissioning of preschool institutions, outpatient clinics, clubs, and cultural institutes was not fulfilled.

All this is, of course, evidence that the eradication of established stereotypes in thinking and acting is a complex, painful process which still requires much time and great efforts. All this indicates we are still in the initial stage of the restructuring. But something else is equally apparent. The restructuring is irreversible. Its ideas have taken possession of the consciousness of millions of people, and henceforth determine their views of life and their actions. The words of the CPSU Central Committee May Day Slogan remind us of this:

Citizens of the USSR! Persistently deepen the restructuring in all spheres of society's life! Widen Soviet democracy and socialist self-management by the people!

KOLBIN ADDRESSES KAZAKH PARTY AKTIV MEETING

LD061808 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 6 May 87

[Text] A meeting was held today in Alma-Ata of the Kazakhstan party-economic aktiv to discuss the tasks of the party, local Soviet and economic bodies of the Kazakh SR in the fulfillment of the tasks of the Food Program and the provision of the accelerated and steady development of animal husbandry, in light of the decision of the CPSU Central Committee concerning party work.

It was noted that far from all party, local Soviet and economic bodies have drawn lessons from past years of stagnation and eliminated the blunders and errors in economic management. The problem of raising the efficiency of cereal farming must first be resolved. Further development of the entire farming sector depends to a great extent on this. There are many omissions in feed production. The tasks of the feed and protein program are not being fulfilled. The lack of balance in protein rations and the low quality of feed are the basic reasons restraining the growth of animal productivity and causing the overexpenditure of feed per production unit.

The time has come, said the speakers, to more fully use the huge feed resources. The meeting of the party-economic aktiv was addressed by Comrade Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee.

PRESIDIUM GIVES ORDER OF LENIN TO KOLBIN

LD061046 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 6 May 87

[Text] We have received a report today that Gennadiy Vasilyevich Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, has been awarded the Order of Lenin by decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. His great services to the Communist Party and to the Soviet state, and his 60th birthday have been marked in this way.

MOSCOW POLICE BREAK UP ART DISPLAY, DETAIN ARTISTS

LD032011 Hamburg DPA in German 1933 GMT 3 May 87

[Text] Moscow (DPA) -- A street exhibition of predominantly religious pictures was broken up by the police in downtown Moscow today. The two artists, Anna Kamenskaya and Vitaliy Susin, and five spectators were detained by the police for about 3 hours, Nikolay Khramov, spokesman of the Moscow peace group, told DPA by telephone this evening. One of those detained was still being held, charged with "hooliganism."

The two artists, of whom Ms Kamenskaya was a member of the peace group, had also been accused of "hooliganism," he said. The two of them possibly faced a sentence of 20 days imprisonment. Ms Kamenskaya and a pregnant spectator had been struck, Khramov said. The pregnant woman had temporarily lost consciousness. Apart from religious themes, the 20 pictures also dealt with ecological problems and the Chernobyl nuclear catastrophe.

AFP Cites Demonstration

AU041102 Paris AFP in English 1049 GMT 4 May 87

[Text] Moscow, May 4 (AFP) -- Soviet police broke up an unofficial art exhibition in a central Moscow park and briefly detained a group of young people, an organiser of the event told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE here Monday.

Vitaliy Ziyuzin said dozens of members of the hippie and pacifist movements gathered in the park Sunday for the exhibition near a statue of Russian writer Nikolay Gogol. Journalists and Western diplomats also attended the event.

Police and KGB security officers waited for the diplomats and journalists to leave before moving in to break up the gathering, according to Mr. Ziyuzin. "Several people were hit", he said.

Half a dozen people, including Mr. Ziyuzin, were arrested and then released shortly afterwards, he added. They were accused of "walking on the lawn and of taking drugs and alcohol."

People attending the show were systematically photographed by men in plain clothes. One of them told an AFP correspondent he was an "amateur photographer."

CONFERENCE VIEWS TASKS OF POWER SECTOR WORKERS

PM051041 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 87 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Conference at the CPSU Central Committee. Improving the Technical Standards and Reliability of Power Engineering Equipment and the Quality of Its Utilization"]

[Text] The preferential buildup of our country's power engineering potential is given a special role in the implementation of the strategic tasks put forward by the Central Committee April Plenum and the 27th party congress of accelerating society's socioeconomic development. The main avenues for further improving the fuel and energy complex have been laid down by the USSR Energy Program. It envisages considerably increasing electricity output, fundamentally modernizing power industry installations, carrying out an active resource-saving policy, and ensuring stable heat and electricity supplies for the national economy and the population.

The fulfillment of everything that has been planned will be determined first and foremost by the technical standards and reliability of the power engineering equipment created by machine builders. As is well known, our power stations are equipped exclusively with domestic equipment. This in turn means that improving the standard and quality of the output of power machine building is a most important task for the entire state.

However, there are certain difficulties associated with the work to implement the Energy Program. Last year the plans for commissioning new power capacities were not fulfilled. There continue to be many complaints about the quality and reliability of equipment, there are still many cases of breakdowns and emergency stoppages of power units at power stations or breaks in power supplies, and the proportion of obsolete equipment in the structure of the power engineering base is being reduced only slowly.

These questions were at the center of attention of a conference held at the CPSU Central Committee 25 April. Taking part in it were leaders, scientists, and specialists from scientific research and planning institutes, design bureaus, and machine building and power engineering production associations and enterprises, as well as the leaders of standing organs of the USSR Council of Ministers, the State Committee for Science and Technology, the State Committee for Standards [Gosstandart], the USSR Gosplan and Gossnab, ministries and departments, secretaries of party kraykoms and obkoms, and senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee.

Reports were delivered by A.I. Mayorets, USSR minister of power and electrification; V.M. Velichko, USSR minister of power machine building; and G.D. Kolmogorov, chairman of the USSR Gosstandart.

Speaking at the conference, V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stressed that in the last few 5-year plans there have been substantial quantitative and qualitative changes in the power industry. Power station capacity has grown by 90 percent in comparison with 1970. Electricity production has increased by more than 110 percent. At the same time the level achieved by the power industry and its development rates cannot be considered adequate under present-day conditions. A number of parts of the country have an acute shortage of generating capacity, which reduces the reliability of energy supplies to the national economy. The economy's electricity requirements will sharply increase in the foreseeable future. Without this it will be impossible to achieve the planned labor productivity growth rates or to improve working and living conditions.

To this end it is necessary to focus attention on such main avenues as the fuller utilization of power station capacity, the retooling and modernization of power generating installations, and the accelerated commissioning of new power units.

Work to introduce underused power capacity into economic turnover has been stepped up recently. In 1986 4.5 million kilowatts of capacity was brought on stream. This line must be persistently continued with another 16 million kilowatts being commissioned before the end of the 5-year plan.

In order to improve the reliability and economy of power stations' work it will be necessary to carry out a large amount of retooling and modernization work. In the period through the year 2000 it will be necessary to modernize power units whose total capacity will be almost 80 percent more than the capacity of those units modernized over the last 15 years In the current 5-year plan it will be necessary to modernize equipment generating 25 million kilowatts and to reconstruct equipment generating 7 million kilowatts.

However, even then there will be an acute need to considerably increase the commissioning of new power units. It is planned to build a commission around 90 million kilowatts of power generating capacity in the current 5-year plan, which is 70 percent more than the actual level in the last 5-year period.

One central task is to supply the power industry with better-quality and more reliable equipment and to accelerate the creation of new high-efficiency power units. These questions are not yet being fully resolved. The delays that have occurred in commissioning power generating capacity are largely linked with delays in equipment deliveries. Last year equipment worth R74 million was not delivered on schedule to power generation projects scheduled for completion.

Nor is the state of affairs improving this year. The Ministry of Power Machine Building has violated the schedules for delivering steam turbines, boilers, heaters, pipelines, and other output to projects scheduled for completion. The Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry is delaying the manufacture and dispatch of turbogenerators, electric panels, and electric motors.

Machine building ministries are not supplying equipment in complete sets. Many plants do not supply equipment in large sets and batches but deliver substantial amounts of equipment in dribs and drabs, which leads to additional losses of labor and material resources.

Attitudes to the questions of improving the technical standard of power generating equipment must be fundamentally changed. Many types of power generating equipment do not meet modern demands in terms of their economy, reliability, and durability. The poor quality of the equipment supplied to power generating installations does great damage to the stable supply of energy to the national economy and the timely commissioning of new capacity. Equipment often arrives at construction sites with factory defects and design faults. The quality of the equipment manufactured at a number of plants under the jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of Power Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, and the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems is particularly unfavorable.

Along with the machine building ministries, responsibility for the technical standard and reliability of power generating equipment is also borne by the client ministries -- the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification and the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation -- which also permit many shortcomings in this important area. [paragraph continues]

They should take the latest achievements of science and technology more fully into account in drawing up technical targets for the creation of new power units. These ministries' scientific research and planning institutes should work in closer contact with machine building institutes, design bureaus, and enterprises.

The storage of power generating equipment is organized unsatisfactorily at many power stations -- owing to the lack of the necessary warehouse facilities such equipment is kept out in the open, which often entails its deterioration.

Machine building and power industry workers must do everything necessary to implement the responsible tasks of developing, strengthening, and improving the efficiency of the country's power generating system.

The conference was addressed by G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; O.G. Anfimov, N.F. Lukonin, and V.M. Lukyanenko, USSR Ministers; Yu.P. Nazarenko, general director of the "Nasosenergomash" Scientific Production Association in Sumy; V.A. Korovkin, director of the Rovno Nuclear Power Station; I.M. Bortnik, general director of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Electric Engineering Institute; A.N. Yegorov, Party Committee secretary at the "Elektrosila" Association in Leningrad, and others.

L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered a speech at the conference.

The party, its Central Committee, and its Central Committee Politburo, he said, constantly have their finger on the pulse of that most important sector of the economy -- the fuel and energy complex.

The other day the country marked the 117th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilich. Returning over and over to Lenin's brilliant legacy, we cannot fail to recall today his idea that fuel -- and in today's language that means fuel and energy resources -- is industry's bread. It was therefore no accident that the Communist Party adopted the country's Energy Program immediately after the Food Program. Now, at the stage of restructuring, it is one of the priority tasks requiring urgent resolution -- along with the food and housing problems, the questions of the provision of social amenities for our people's lives, and the development of the consumer goods production.

Today's conference has given us all an opportunity to get a better feel for the situation in our power industry. The conclusion is unambiguous. Things are very difficult and the situation is extremely tense. This was graphically confirmed last winter. And the point is not that it was a severe winter.

Because of electricity shortages and sudden power cuts many enterprises had to switch to flexitime working. And at the same time many power units at a number of power stations were not operating at full capacity. This was a consequence of the poor quality of equipment, negligence during its installation and overhaul, and violations of operating regulations. To put it briefly, it is the inevitable payoff for shoddy work.

It must be frankly admitted that in the past the development of the power industry was marked by stagnation and standstill. In short, we must thoroughly advance the Energy Program.

The resolution of this very important economic task lies in three main directions. The first is the technical standard of plans and the equipment created. The second is the quality of the manufacture and installation of equipment for the power industry's needs. And the third is the quality of the operation of power units and the unswerving observance of technical conditions and demands. [paragraph continues]

Effective measures in these areas must be implemented together and in a comprehensive way. Only this approach will be able to determine a high level of development in the domestic power industry.

"Life itself has put the questions of quality on the agenda. It has posed them acutely, very acutely, at the heart of restructuring," M.S. Gorbachev stressed.

I emphasize your attention to this question first and foremost because today everybody -- both those who plan and create new equipment, and those who operate it -- must clearly realize the main thing: It is impossible to count on success without restructuring our work and our very thinking itself.

The essence of restructuring the development of power engineering, its main task, is the uncompromising eradication of any manifestations of a departmental approach. And the faster we remove this approach from our work practice the faster the statewide task of ensuring stable power and heat supplies to the national economy will be resolved. A further qualitative boost to power engineering and the successful fulfillment of the country's Energy Program are only possible if machine builders and their associated plants, power workers, and construction workers coordinate their actions. Needless to say, this organization of work presupposes a sharp increase in the responsibilty of each sector and each labor collective for the end results.

Take machine building. It has a genuinely key role in building up the country's energy potential. We rightly believe that many types of domestic steam and hydraulic turbines, generators, reactor equipment, and boilers are not inferior and, in terms of a number of parameters, are even superior to the best foreign models. Presitigious schools have grown up in the country in the area of power machine building and electrical equipment.

Why then has our science not always succeeded in matching the growth rates of technical progress in world power engineering recently? There are several reasons. First, we are behind in the degree to which our power installations are automated, and, second, we lag behind in the technical standard of so-called ancillary equipment.

A revolutionary process of across-the-board application of electronics is under way in the world, yet at our power stations we are entirely unable to abandon primitive pen recorders and cumbersome panels with their antediluvian instruments. Today it is right that the prime task should be to switch power unit operating functions onto the shoulders of computer technology and to ensure tht power units work automatically. This will also improve power station reliability.

One other question of a long-term nature. It is a question of developing nontraditional ways of obtaining energy. This work is under way -- but by no means at the pace we need. New developments are translated into specific pieces of equipment too slowly. The efforts of researchers and developers continue to be fragmented, and there is a great deal of unnecessary duplication in their activity.

It is here that the scientific and technical councils of ministries and the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building and the Fuel and Energy Complex should make their weighty contribution. The State Committee for Science and Technology should also adopt a principled position.

We need healthy and creative competition among those developing new equipment as much as we need the air we breathe. [paragraph continues]

It is time to put a stop to the monopoly held by certain institutes and design bureaus on the creation of highly important types of equipment. Competitive planning should conclude with the manufacture of an experimental mockup in order for new equipment created on the basis of the utilization of advanced scientific and technical achievements to reach the national economy.

But the boldest plan and the most advanced design can be discredited if rush work and irresponsibility prevail at the production stage and if technological and labor discipline is not observed. This has been particularly evident with the introduction of state acceptance of output. The low quality of normative and technical documentation and the massive violations of the demands of such documentation were revealed. Production support and the provision of instruments and metrological facilities were neglected and the weakness of plant technical monitoring services was evident. Many enterprises had not worked out systems for apportioning responsibilty and providing incentives for high-quality work. There should be no allowances for or leniency toward shoddy workmen.

It is for good reason, L.N. Zaykov continued, that ministries are known as the headquarters of a sector. And a headquarters is a "think tank" -- a model of organization. Unfortunately, many ministries are still a long way from achieving this. Order must be instilled more rapidly. It is necessary to force all apparatus workers to reorient themselves, to carry out in full the responsibilities placed upon them, and to put extra effort into their work. Ministry specialists must be clearly aware of the situation locally, be able to pinpoint the most important areas, and introduce economic management methods more boldly.

Labor collectives everywhere are now discussing the USSR draft law on state enterprises (associations). This major political campaign should be used to instill order in production everywhere.

It is also very important to be well prepared for the transition to complete economic accountability and self-financing. Working under conditions of complete economic accountability is incompatible with low quality, since losses from slipshod work will effect not only the enterprise economy as a whole but also the interests of every worker.

The provision of high-quality and reliable equipment for the nuclear power industry requires particularly close attention. Chernobyl will be on people's minds for a long time yet. We are duty bound to draw exhaustive conclusions from its dramatic lessons. And primarily lessons for the practical work on creating new AES's and servicing existing ones. There must be no letups in this area.

Now a few words about the technical renewal of the power generating equipment at existing stations. As is well known, in the current 5-year plan it is planned to replace a considerable quantity of obsolete and uneconomical installations in the country's power stations. Work has started. But we have been alerted to the fact that, under the guise of modernization, power workers continue to order from machine builders outdated fifties- and sixties-vintage equipment. This practice is incompatible with restructuring ad discredits our policy in the area of scientific and technical progress.

Central economic departments must also tackle more meaningfully the problems of the accelerated development of the country's power generating base. What do we encounter in practice? There continues to be an imbalance in plans between the commissioning of power generating installations, equipment deliveries, and the allocation of the corresponding resources. [paragraph continues]

There is a great deal of uninstalled or just plain unnecessary equipment at Ministry of Power and Electrification construction sites, while at the same time machine building workers are planning to manufacture similar equipment.

The standing organs of the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, and the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation must take more vigorous action to implement the Energy Program.

The CPSU Central Committee January Plenum particularly stressed the role of the human factor in accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. The rapid growth in the unit capacities of power generating equipment and the continual addition of electronic systems to such equipment require high competence from cadres, diverse knowledge, a high sense of responsibility, and constant self-improvement.

The growing tasks of developing the power industry are introducing major amendments to the working practices of CPSU kraykoms and obkoms in implementing party leadership of the activities of scientific and design organizations, industrial and power engineering enterprises, and all labor collectives participating in the implementation of the Energy Program. Party committees must proceed on the basis that unity of words and deeds is the adamantine norm of our life. This demand must be the basis of all the organizational and political work to implement plan targets and eliminate the laggardness permitted in the first quarter.

Work in March showed that we have real opportunities for achieving the targets for this year and for the 5-year plan as a whole. We must indulge less in seeking elsewhere the causes of disruption and complaining about each other, and instead jointly set about solving any problems that arise. This applies first and foremost to ministries and other central departments. It also applies to local soviet and party organs.

The party Central Committee is counting on the results of this conference giving additional impetus to the practical work of machine builders, power industry workers, and specialists in related sectors in accelerating the development of the power industry. Comrades, we must reorient ourselves more vigorously, boldly, and professionally in order to make the energy base of our economy more stable and our economy itself more effective. This is probably the main conclusion stemming from today's discussion.

Taking part in the conference's work were Yu.D. Maslyukov, I.S. Silayev, V.L. Tolstykh, and B.Ye. Shcherbina, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; and A.I. Volskiy and I.P. Yastrebov, CPSU Central Committee department chiefs.

TRUD OUTLINES BACKUPS FOR INDIVIDUAL LABOR

PM061111 Moscow TRUD in Russian 30 Apr 87 p 3

[TRUD Information Section "Topical Theme" report: "Scope For Initiative. The USSR Law 'On Individual Labor Activity' Comes Into Force Tomorrow"]

[Excerpt] What a discussion there has been! Reports from the localities caused not only interest, but controversy as well: In one place, as an experiment, they were authorized to use private vehicles as taxicabs; in another place a group of enthusiasts had taken on the job of repairing and servicing all housing; in yet another place...[paragraph continues]

Yes, the new law makes it possible not only to considerably widen the range of consumer services but to improve their quality, and it presents new opportunities for consumer goods production.

The time for experiments is now over. The law is entering into force. And it extends to the most diverse spheres of activity. Is everything ready for its effective implementation? We put this question to the leaders of a number of ministries and departments most deeply involved in the development of individual and cooperative types of labor.

V. Orlov, USSR deputy minister of finance:

The other day the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium made some changes to tax legislation. The purpose is to create favorable conditions for the implementation of the law "On Individual Labor Activity."

Many people ask what the finance experts' aim was in preparing the new legislation.

First of all citizens must be given a material interest in individual labor. Indeed, their work is based on the principles of economic accountability and commercial viability whereby, so to speak, every kopek counts. So the situation is that not one kopek will be owed to the state by citizens earning on average not more than R70 per month in the handicrafts area and folk art workshops and in consumer services. Men over 60 and women over 55 who live in the country and whose holdings are not subject to agricultural tax will not pay taxes. The same benefit is available to inhabitants of the Far North and equivalent areas -- no matter what types of individual labor activity they are engaged in. I don't think craftsmen with incomes of up to R3,000 per year will take unbrage -- their tax liability will be the same as that of all workers and employees in state enterprises and institutions.

Income tax on sums of between R3,000 and R6,000 is also reduced. For example, on earning of R4,000 the tax was R932 before 1 May, now it is R532; the amount of tax due on R6,000 has been reduced by R850 -- from R2,182 to R1,332... Only when income exceeds R6,000 per year does tax "leap" to 65 percent of income in excess of that sum.

We are not against high earnings. But they must be honest and correspond to the labor input. After all, it is perfectly possible to have a situation where a working person gets "his" money not so much from the work as from a favorable demand situation, from high prices for scarce services. So in this case high taxes act as a "regulator" of social justice.

Incidentally, in some cases people need not pay tax at all but can make a payment for a license to engage in individual labor.

The union republic councils of ministers have already defined such types of activity and the amount of the annual license fee. In Russia, for example, the owners of private "taxicabs" have to pay R560 per year. In Kazakhstan a license to do photographic work to order costs R350 and a shoe repairer's license costs R340. Licenses are free for war invalids and people in equivalent circumstances; licenses are half-price for war veterans.

Local soviet ispolkoms, financial bodies, and internal affairs organs will monitor individual labor activity and prevent concealment of income and the possibility of speculative operations. [paragraph continues]

And those engaged in individual activity must submit an annual declaration of income and keep accurate records of income and expenditure.

V. Rakitskikh, deputy chairman of the Tsentrosoyuz Board:

In the sphere of handicrafts and consumer services the law "On Individual Labor Activity" provides for more than 30 of the most widespread types of work. For those engaged in handicrafts and certain types of consumer services Tsentrosoyuz will be a kind of professional mediator capable of selling manufactured goods, helping with materials, and hiring out the requisite premises.

In March the Tsentrosoyuz Board adopted a special resolution stating that active assistance to citizens engaged in individual labor activity in marketing and producing their products is one of our most important tasks.

What exactly have we done to enable those who are going to be engaged in handicrafts to sell their goods without difficulty? First of all, a person who makes something has the right, under the Law on Individual Labor Activity, to sell it himself.

But let us be realistic. You can have a craftsman's hands but be a poor salesman. Moreover, to trade you need not only extra time but special premises located, shall we say, in a good position. At the same time, Tsentrosoyuz at the moment has more than 2,000 commission stores selling nonfood goods all over the country. Another 400 stores will open before the end of the year. In them we are prepared to receive from the population articles made on the basis of individual labor activity.

Under the new statute, the price is set not by the store but by the actual client. If the item is not sold within 20 days, the price is reduced by 20 percent; if nothing happens in the next 20 days, the price falls by a further 20 percent, and for the next 20 days the price goes down again by 50 percent. If the item is not sold after the third reduction, the store marks its own price and the owner, if he does not like it, has every right to take the article back.

But what if a person wants to sell his own products...? As is known, all markets have been transferred to the Tsentrosoyuz system. Now, a resolution adopted by us states that special areas have to be set aside in markets for those engaged in individual labor activity and they have to be provided with all the equipment they need.

It is just as important to help people acquire the raw materials they need to organize their businesses. There is no problem here. Over 200 cooperative stores trading in nonfood goods are prepared to take orders from the population for the necessary supplies. Tsentrosoyuz has directed that citizens engaged in individual labor activity should be sold the requisite equipment and materials in unlimited quantities at state retail prices. All in the usual way: purchases up to R5,000 in cash, over R5,000 through the bank.

The law on individual labor activity will prompt the emergence of cooperatives as well as individual craftsmen. There are around 500 operating in our system already. We welcome the appearance of these cooperatives and will try to campaign, if that is the right word, for individuals to get together and form mini-enterprises. In fact, it would then be easier to conclude contracts with our enterprises and stores and to hire premises. [passage omitted]

FURTHER DETAILS ON CONTINUING MIR ORBITER WORK

LD061249 Mowcow TASS in English 1213 GMT 6 May 87

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS -- The space flight of Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Laveykin in the Mir manned orbital complex has entered its fourth month.

In the course of the flight the crew conducted scientific and technological studies and experiments planned for that period, as well as a large amount of work connected with the installation in the basic unit of additional equipment brought by cargo spacecraft. They carried out a spacewalk and took part in ensuring the docking of the Kvant module and the Mir complex.

At present Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Laveykin continue to reactivate the on-board systems of the module, check their functioning and prepare for work new astrophysical instruments. At the same time they are unloading the Progress-29 pilotless transport spacecraft.

A program for the remaining period of the flight was modified because of the amount of various kinds of work to be carried out by the cosmonauts was too large. A spacewalk scheduled for the beginning of May was postponed.

The flight of the Mir manned complex is going on.

SOCIALIST COUNTRIES TO INCREASE SATELLITE USE

LD061159 Moscow TASS in English 1126 GMT 6 May 87

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS -- New generation satellites having a high traffic-carrying capacity -- each can handle 30,000 to 40,000 communication channels -- will soon replace the existing ones. Experts from socialist countries are working under the Incercosmos program to develop such satellites," Yuriy Zubarev, a deputy minister of communications of the U.S.S.R., told a TASS correspondent. [quotation marks as received]

"Experts are also defining principles for a new national and international networks of satellite-aided communication which will make it possible to use the geostationary orbit efficiently. In view of the immense load handled by this 'space communication channel' the problem of enhancing its efficiency has acquired special importance. This problem is being studied at the test range of the Intercosmos experimental center of satellite-aided communication in the city of Dubna near Moscow," the deputy minister went on.

The Soviet Union, Bulgarian, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland and Czechoslovakia founded their center jointly.

The Soviet Union carried out the bulk of construction work -- it built a ground station with a 12-meter dish -- and put the 'Luch' space station with a repeater on board into the geostationary orbit.

Experts from Czechoslovakia designed the receiving station. Measuring and monitoring equipment came from the G.D.R., Hungary and Poland, while transmitting/receiving equipment was built by Bulgaria.

"By now," Yuriy Zubarev went on, "all channels of the international system of satellite communication between socialist countries have been modernized and have a high traffic-carrying capacity. When digital coding equipment becomes available it will be possible to increase it further. The Interchat system developed in Hungary will open up even broader possibilities. In the coming years it will enable us to organize a better network of communication via space."

BRIEFS

NUCLEAR POWER TURBINES -- Kharkov April 30 TASS -- Nuclear power turbines with a capacity of one million kilowatts each, which are totally controlled by autonomatic systems, went into production in Kharkov, a major scientific and industrial centre of the Ukraine. Work to produce the first such machine was finalized here today. The volume of information on the operation of power plant mechanisms, processed by an automatic control system, will increase several times. It is envisaged to produce a series of plants fitted out with new automatic systems for three Soviet nuclear power stations. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1306 GMT 30 Apr 87 LD]

NUCLEAR POWER PLANT FOR ICEBREAKER -- Leningrad April 30 TASS -- The Baltyisky ship-building yards in Leningrad have begun assemblying the first generating unit for a nuclear power plant to be installed in the first nuclear-powered icebreaker being built in Finland for the Soviet Union. The new-generation ship will be among other vessels being built and planned to modernize the Soviet merchant fleet. Leningrad, traditionally a leading center of Soviet ship-building, has an important role to play in the modernization effort. The local yards have just commissioned a rescue vessel called the Karabakh, which can perform lengthy independent cruises in any of the world's oceans. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1222 GMT 30 Apr 87 LD]